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# The Classical Journal

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OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXVI

JUNE, 1931

Number 9

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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VOLUME XXVI

JUNE, 1931

NUMBER 9

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## Editorial

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### THE INDEX TO VOLUMES I-XXV APPEARS

The new general *Index to Volumes I-XXV* of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL appeared late in March, and all the advance orders received were promptly filled. Those who have hitherto held back should now send their orders at once to Professor John O. Lofberg at Oberlin, Ohio. As already announced, the price now becomes \$2.50 per copy, and an order blank is provided in the advertising section of this issue.

Perhaps a few words concerning the *Index* will not be amiss at this time. The plan of having such a tool was suggested by the undersigned to the Executive Committee at the Nashville meeting of our Association in 1928. Inasmuch as the task was too heavy to be assumed without remuneration, the editors-in-chief were authorized to employ some one to prepare the manuscript, and they were lucky enough to be able to enlist the services of Professor Franklin H. Potter of the University of Iowa. A start was made almost at once, and the text was rushed to completion upon conclusion of the twenty-fifth volume of the JOURNAL last June.

The *Index* contains 272 pages, which are devoted to a single alphabetical list of names and topics, except that a roster of the Association's officers during the quarter century is given at the close. In the *Index* proper each page contains a double column of eight-point type, and it is estimated that there are about 16,000

entries altogether. Under each contributor's name are listed not merely the titles of articles and reviews written by him but also reviews of his books and allusions to points of discussion by other authors in which he was involved by name. Under such headings as Reviews, Hints for Teachers, Editorials, etc., appears every significant item that has ever been published in those departments. Moreover, in his search through the volumes the indexer found outside of Hints for Teachers many minor pedagogical items which would be lost in the general alphabet. These are listed under the general heading of Teaching Suggestions. There are in the printed *Index* seven columns of these, which should prove valuable to those of our readers who are interested primarily in teaching. Under the names of ancient authors is a reference to every passage which has been made an object of discussion, even incidentally, in twenty-five volumes. The whole is thus an invaluable key to unlock the riches of the JOURNAL to teacher or research worker alike. Professor Potter has rendered an inestimable service by his thoroughness, and the Association by its willingness to underwrite an enterprise which has drawn heavily upon its resources.

R. C. F.

#### INDEX TO VOLUME XXVI

No volume of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL to date has failed to contain an Index, but these have never been adequate and usually have been stripped to the barest essentials. Now the new *Index to Volumes I-XXV* gives an exhaustive survey of what twenty-five years have meant to readers of the JOURNAL. It is obvious that there will not be another general index for many years, and therefore it seems appropriate at this time to raise the level of the annual indices to the standard set by the new general index. Accordingly the index to Volume xxvi, contained in this issue, is about twice as large as even the largest of the annual indices hitherto published, Professor Potter having prepared it upon the same plan as that followed in the *Index to Volumes I-XXV*. So if anyone is in any doubt as to what the new *Index* is like and how

useful he would find it, let him turn to pages 733-52 in this number and then fill out the order blank in the advertising section.

R. C. F.

#### THE BLOOMINGTON MEETING

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South on April 2-4, 1931, will long be remembered as one of the most successful in the history of the Association. The quality of the papers was high, the number of registrations (337 from 22 states and the province of Ontario) was perhaps the largest that we have ever had, and the adequacy of the local arrangements and the smoothness with which they were carried through reflected great credit upon the committee in charge. The regrettable illness of President Long seemed to spur everyone to renewed efforts to compensate for his absence.

For next year the following officers were elected: President, Lillian Gay Berry of Indiana University; First Vice-President, H. M. Poteat of Wake Forest University; new member of the Executive Committee, C. C. Mierow of Colorado College; representative to the American Classical League, Campbell Bonner of the University of Michigan; Secretary-Treasurer, J. O. Lofberg of Oberlin College; and Editors-in-Chief, Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa and A. T. Walker of the University of Kansas, who were given the customary authority to select managing, associate, and departmental editors. Next year's meeting will be held with the University of Cincinnati.

The Secretary-Treasurer reported the finances of the Association to be in excellent condition and the circulation of the *JOURNAL* to have risen from 6243 to 6296. The Business Manager reported an increase of nearly 25% in advertising in Volume xxvi.

Approval was given by the Association to the proposal outlined in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxvi (1931), 339f to celebrate Horace's Bimillenary in 1935-36.

On behalf of the Editors-in-Chief Dr. Flickinger presented the new *Index to Volumes I-XXV*, concerning which a fuller statement is made elsewhere in this issue.

## VERGIL,—HIS PHILOSOPHIC BACKGROUND AND HIS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

By CHARLES N. SMILEY  
Carleton College

There is a church tradition — a tradition that seems highly improbable — that the Apostle Paul, when he landed at Puteoli on his way to Rome in the days of Nero, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Vergil and there expressed his deep regret that it had not been his good fortune to meet Vergil in the flesh, because he had found many things in the poems of Vergil that were in harmony with the Gospel that he was preaching. Some mediaeval poet put this tradition into a Latin stanza, and this stanza was chanted as a part of the mass of St. Paul as late as the end of the fifteenth century in Vergil's native town of Mantua:

*Ad Maronis mausoleum  
ductus fudit super eum  
piae rorem lacrimae.  
quam te, inquit, reddidissem  
si te vivum invenissem,  
poetarum maxime.*

This stanza, if we should give it a literal translation, means: "When he had been led to the tomb of Vergil, he poured forth over him a dew of holy tears, saying: 'What a Christian I should have made of you if I had found you alive, O greatest of poets.' " Since the stanza is to serve as our text, it is perhaps worth while to emphasize its thought by repeating it again in the exquisite version of John Addington Symonds:

When to Maro's tomb they brought him,  
Tender grief and pity wrought him  
To bedew the stone with tears.  
What a saint I might have crowned thee,  
Had I only living found thee,  
Poet first and without peers!

If we examine the writings of the Latin church fathers we find that St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and nearly every important leader of the early Christian church quoted Vergil freely and familiarly. This is what we should expect in an age in which Vergil formed an essential part of the training of every educated person in Western Europe — pagan and Christian alike. It was an age in which certain devout Christians demonstrated their complete familiarity with the Old and New Testaments and also with the poems of Vergil by composing centos of Vergilian verse in which they told the story of the life of Jesus, or recounted the history recorded in the Pentateuch. By a Christian cento of Vergilian verse we mean a patchwork poem, made up of fragments of Vergil — lines and half lines pieced together in such a way as to tell the Gospel story. Such a cento or patchwork poem reveals a devotion not only to Christ but to Vergil as well. So we may infer that Vergil, although he died nineteen years before Christ was born, was tacitly adopted as a foster-son by the early church and permitted to play his part in shaping the minds of Christian youth.

This acceptance of the pagan poet by the early church may be attributed primarily to two causes: First, to the fact that he had written the fourth *Eclogue*, in which he foretold the birth of a child, who at his coming would bring the joys and perfection of a golden age; and second, to the fact that the tradition of Greek philosophy which he preserved in his poems was in harmony with many of the fundamental teachings of the New Testament.

While our main interest is the second of these causes, it is worth our while to discuss briefly the first cause, the so-called Messianic *Eclogue*.

It is an interesting fact that the early church reinforced its faith by assuming that not only the prophets of the Old Testament but the Sibyls of the pagan world as well had predicted the coming of Christ. This view persisted down to the sixteenth century or even later, as is recorded in the works of the artists of the Renaissance. In the Sistine Chapel in Michelangelo's great fresco the Sibyls hold places of equal honor with the Prophets.

In the marble flooring of the cathedral at Siena the artists in niello work have set the Prophets and the Sibyls side by side. The wood-carvers who adorned the cathedral at Ulm in South Germany have done the same.

It seems likely that this faith in the pagan Sibyls began with an acceptance on the part of the early church of Vergil's *Eclogue* as a messianic prophecy, a belief which was to persist in the Christian world down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is now perhaps time to take a nearer look at the *Eclogue*. Since the eighteenth century there has been much controversy among scholars as to who the child really was that Vergil had in mind. Some have thought that it was the child of Octavian and Scribonia, others that it was the child of Pollio the consul, and still others have made other conjectures. All are agreed, however, that it is quite impossible that Vergil had in mind the Christ-child. We are not concerned with this dispute, but rather with the content of the *Eclogue*, and with the description of the Golden Age which the wonder-child was to usher in.

It was to be an age of peace, an age in which Justice should walk among men. The lion should not prey upon the peaceful flocks and herds; there should be no poisonous herbs, no venomous serpents. The wild thornbush should produce rich grape clusters, and all the fields throughout all the world should produce abundant crops without cultivation.

It is not strange that the early church saw in this *Eclogue* not parallels with Hesiod and various Stoic writers but rather with Isaiah's prophecies that the wolf should dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid, that the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp and the weaned child put its hand on the adder's den, that instead of the thorn should come up the fir tree and instead of the brier should come up the myrtle tree (*Isaiah* XI, 6-9; and LV, 13).

Modern scholarship is inclined to believe that Vergil actually had access to the words of the Hebrew prophet through certain Sibylline oracles which had come to Rome from Alexandria, where the Hebrew Scriptures circulated in the Greek Septuagint

version. Be that as it may be, there is no doubt that the similarity of Vergil's thought to the thought of Isaiah made the *Eclogue* more acceptable to the early church.

It now remains to take a survey of Vergil's philosophical outlook upon the universe and his ethical outlook upon life, to see how far his views harmonized with the fundamental principles of the New Testament. At the beginning and end of his life we have good evidence of his fondness for philosophic study. In an early poem, if *Catalepton* VII be genuine, he expresses his joy at being through with the dry study of rhetoric and at being about to enter upon the study of philosophy that will "redeem his life from every care." There is a tradition that near the close of his life he expressed his purpose to spend three more years in perfecting the *Aeneid* and then to give the remainder of his life to philosophy. The two outstanding schools of Greek philosophy in his day were the Stoic and Epicurean.

Vergil was sixteen years old when Lucretius, the great Roman expositor of the doctrines of Epicurus, died. There is abundant evidence that Vergil was familiar with his *De Rerum Natura*. It is easily conceivable that the reading of this book may have turned the youthful Vergil to the school of the Epicurean Siron for instruction.

Those who have but casually studied the doctrines of Epicurus have sometimes regarded this philosopher as an enemy of Christianity at all points. To such persons the name Epicurean has often become anathema. But a careful study of the fundamental Epicurean tenets reveals the fact that a serious Christian might accept a considerable portion of the Epicurean teachings without violating his conscience or his creed.

The group of Athenians that gathered in the garden of Epicurus for instruction about 300 B.C. was noted through all antiquity for its simplicity of life, its frugality of living. It was noted also for its lofty spirit of friendliness. Their avowed objective in life was pleasure; but to them the supreme pleasure in life, for which all other pleasures should be freely sacrificed, was peace, serenity of mind, a spirit unperturbed. There are at least

a dozen passages in the New Testament in which peace seems to be a final objective in life. But how did Epicurus propose to attain this spirit unperturbed, this serenity of mind? By the elimination of all the baser emotions, such as anger, hatred, greed, jealousy, envy, fear. Surely no Christian could object to such a program. Furthermore, Epicurus states, according to the testimony of Diogenes Laertius, that no one could attain this peace unless he lived wisely, honestly, justly. A fervent Methodist might say "Amen" to such a doctrine. Epicurean and Stoic alike accepted the four cardinal virtues of Socrates without reservation. They differed only in giving the reason why these virtues should be striven for. The Stoic said: "Be wise, just, temperate, courageous, because it is your duty." The Epicurean said: "Be wise, courageous, temperate, just, because that way lies peace of mind. Be wise, for if you are a fool you will be unhappy; be courageous, for if you are a coward you will hate yourself; be temperate, for if you are intemperate you will be perturbed in spirit; be just, for if you are unjust you will find it difficult to live with yourself in serenity of mind." Such were the instructions Vergil received at seventeen in the school of Siron the Epicurean, and they left their mark on him. It would be a long story to enumerate all the instances in which wisdom, courage, temperance, justice are emphasized in the New Testament.

In two important doctrines, however, the Epicureans were at variance with their neighbors the Stoics, and with the Christians. Epicurus had formulated a mechanistic conception of the universe and had denied that the universe had been built or was controlled by divine power. Furthermore, he denied the immortality of the soul. On both of these points Vergil parted company with the Epicureans.<sup>1</sup>

In some measure Epicurus seems to have been a pragmatist. There is a strong suspicion that he did not deny the existence of the gods for fear that he might suffer as Socrates suffered on a charge of atheism. But he was not a thoroughgoing prag-

<sup>1</sup> It does not fall within the limits of this article to discuss the various Stoic views concerning immortality.

matist. If he had been, he would have accepted the Stoic view that an all-wise, all-loving, all-powerful Father had built the universe. Such a faith undoubtedly contributes much to peace and serenity of mind. The Stoic, like the Christian, found immense comfort in the thought that the very hairs of his head were all numbered and that God cared for sparrows and for the grass of the field. Epicurus denied all this on two grounds: First, that the Deity would be deprived of all peace and happiness, if he were obliged to take note of all the infinite details of this complex universe; second, that if the universe had been built by the Deity, it would not show so many signs of imperfection. The Stoics met this contention of Epicurus not by accepting the Persian dualistic conception of the universe, which appears in certain parts of the Old Testament and which attributes the evil of the world to the machinations of a personal devil, nor yet by accepting the Platonic view that the imperfection of the world was due to the imperfection of the materials used or to the limitations of the servants of the supreme Deity, who carried out his purposes (for such views seemed to set limits to the power of God); but rather the Stoics accepted the view of Heraclitus that, if a mortal man could look at the universe with the infinite intelligence of God, he would see how each minutest part contributed its bit toward the final perfection of the whole. This is not a denial of relative evil but rather a denial of the existence of absolute evil.

Let us now see what position Vergil took with reference to this important philosophic problem. There is a passage in Vergil's *Georgics* which seems to be a reply to the Epicurean view as presented by Lucretius in the *De Rerum Natura*. In the fifth book of the *De Rerum Natura* (vss. 195-227) Lucretius says:

But now, if I were ignorant of the nature of atoms (out of which the universe is built), still, basing my judgment on the very operations of the universe and on many other things, I should venture to declare that in no way has the world been prepared for us by a divine power. So great faults and imperfections characterize its nature as it stands. First, of all the earth which is covered by the vast sweep of the sky, of this the greedy mountains and the forest homes of wild beasts have taken possession of a part; a part is held by cliffs and wild morasses and by

the sea, which holds far sundered the shores of all the lands. Then, furthermore, two other parts are in the main taken from mortal men by an intense and fervid heat and by the continual fall of snow. There is a remainder of arable land; still Nature by her own force would overspread this with briers, if man for the sake of life did not use his strength to make resistance and if he had not accustomed himself to groan and sweat with his mattock and cleave the earth with his plow at the cost of wearying toil. If turning the fruitful glebe with the plowshare and cultivating the soil we did not call forth the crops, they would not of their own accord be able to rise into the clear light of day; and yet sometimes when with great labor we have sought them, when everything is in bloom and full leaf throughout the land, either the sun in the heavens parches the crops with his rays' excessive heat, or sudden rains and chilling frosts destroy them, and blasts of wind harry them with the violence of a hurricane. And besides all this, why does Nature both on land and sea support and increase the savage beasts that terrify the human race and are the enemies of men? Why do the seasons of the year bring diseases? Why does untimely death stalk abroad? Then, too, the child, like a sailor cast ashore by the cruel waves, lies naked on the ground, without power of speech, destitute of everything that might assist him in his life. As soon as Nature with fell birth-pangs has brought him forth from his mother's womb to the shores of light, he fills the place with mournful wailing, as is right, since he must go through so many ills in life.

There is not one of these arguments that a modern Stoic could not refute in the light of modern science. We can hear such a modern Stoic challenging Lucretius:

What, Lucretius, would you have an earth without mountains and forests, and without a frigid and torrid zone, and without a sea? How would you arrange for rivers and ocean currents and the circulation of the air? It is a stagnant world you are offering us. And as for disease and death, have you never stopped to think how crowded beyond the conception of Malthus this planet would be, if no son of Adam had ever died? Go and read what Walt Whitman has to say about the beauty of all-encircling death. And as for the helpless babe, destitute of all assistance, you have gratuitously lied, for Nature has supplied a mother's love that by some divine impulsion grows into the fairest thing on earth. These are relative evils and there is nothing absolute about them.

I have purposely omitted the modern Stoic's reply to Lucretius with reference to the hardships of the farmer's life, that Vergil

might reply to them with his lines from the first book of the *Georgics*. In this passage Vergil places the responsibility for the seeming imperfections of the Iron Age not upon a personal devil but upon Jove, and then he takes pains to point out the benefits that have accrued to man from these hardships. But let Vergil speak for himself. After enumerating some of the difficulties the farmer has to face he says (vss. 121-24 and 129-46):

The great Father himself has willed that the path of the farmer should not be an easy one. He first made an art of the plowing of the fields, *sharpening with anxious cares the minds of mortals. He did not permit his realm to grow stupid under the heavy weight of lethargy.* . . . It was Jove that gave dark snakes their poison; he ordered wolves to prowl and plunder and the sea to be disturbed by storms. He shook the honey from the leaves, and hid fire from the easy reach of man, *that man, exercising his power of thought, might gradually devise the various arts,* and by plowing furrows might seek the stalks that bear the grain, that he might smite from the heart of the flint the hidden fire. Then first the rivers felt the boats upon their waters; then the sailor numbered and named the stars, the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the bright constellation of the Bear. *Then men exercised their inventive powers* in deceiving the wild creatures with bird lime and in capturing them with snares and in encircling great woodland glades with packs of dogs. And now the fisherman, seeking out deep pools, would whip the broad stream with his casting net, while another was dragging his dripping nets through the sea. Then came the use of rigid iron and the blades of the shrill saw (for the first men split their wood with wedges). Then came the various other arts. So toil that men hate, and poverty that is heavy in adversity won all our victories.

In the fifth book of the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius with far greater elaboration tries to explain how primitive men advanced from rude and savage ways to ways of greater refinement. There is no hint, however, of an early Golden Age in which the ease and softness of life made for mental stagnation. There is no suggestion that some kindly divine power put difficulties in life that man by overcoming them might achieve his crowning excellence of reason. Such a view is in entire harmony with the Stoic and Christian belief that an all-loving, all-wise, and all-powerful Providence has a care for all the details of the life of man. And Vergil is an orthodox Stoic and Christian when he declares that

the supreme Deity "did not permit his realm to grow stupid under the heavy weight of lethargy."

Epicurus as a boy had gone around with his mother, repeating certain formulae of purification that were believed to save the souls of men from the punishments of a future life. We have abundant evidence that such beliefs were current in the fourth century before Christ. Diogenes the Cynic complains that certain worthless rascals hope to enjoy a happier hereafter than Epaminondas, simply because they have gone through certain rites of initiation and purification. The great Plato in his myths commits himself to a belief in very definite and horrible punishments that await the wicked in a future life. These punishments are in part purgatorial, cleansing the sinner from the stains of sin that he has committed in the flesh, but in the case of sinners who are incurable the punishments are eternal; and such sinners, like Theodoric of Engadi, or like Phlegyas in Vergil, play a useful part in the divine economy by serving as a torch to light other sinners on the road to repentance. We find such beliefs illustrated in a rather ghastly and gruesome manner in the frescoes of Etruscan tombs. Epicurus revolted from all this and sought to free himself and his followers from such fears by repudiating a belief in any sort of hereafter whatsoever. Vergil, however, does not follow him in this belief in the mortality of the soul; he may have felt, as did Thomas Huxley in his old age, that any sort of existence, where the climate and company were not too trying, would be preferable to extinction and annihilation. At any rate we find Vergil portraying in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* the tortures of the damned and the rewards of the virtuous in a way that commended him to Dante and that still commends him to that part of orthodox Christianity which still believes in the lake of fire and brimstone mentioned in the book of *Revelation*. In drawing this picture of the Elysian fields and Tartarus, Vergil is indebted to Hesiod, Homer, the Pythagoreans, Plato, and perhaps to certain priests of Isis who were making current in the Roman world the ancient views of the Egyptians concerning the hereafter. In turn Vergil's writings have served as a prototype

for Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, two books that far more than the New Testament have shaped the conceptions of Christian thought concerning the world to come. There is no way of getting behind the scenes to determine whether Vergil in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* is merely recording the accepted views of some of his contemporaries or is giving his own deepest convictions. We should be glad to believe that he, like certain Christians today, would hold that eternal punishment does not fit the crime and that a belief in eternal punishment is an indictment of the character of God. To quote from Canon Charles of Westminster:

Nay, these followers of Christ would hold it a dishonor to the God they revere and serve even to admit the possibility that He should visit with a never-ending punishment the errors and shortcomings, nay more, the willful sins of a few dim and mistaken years of earth, and limit to a hand-breadth of time the opportunities and irremediable issues of a never-ending eternity.

Another doctrine in which Vergil, following the precepts of the Stoics, is in essential harmony with the teaching of the New Testament, is the belief in predestination, foreordination, fate. In almost every book of the New Testament from *Matthew* to *Revelation* there is some passage or passages in which it is stated that everything which occurs in the world occurs in accordance with the will of the Almighty. Not only have the hairs of our heads been numbered, but every thought and every act and every circumstance of life has been foreordained even before the foundation of the world. In the book of *Acts* we are assured that the crucifixion of Christ occurred according to the determined counsel and foreknowledge of God. That this was the contemporary Stoic point of view we have abundant evidence. In his *De Fato* Cicero presents the views of Posidonius, Chrysippus, and other Stoics, and tries to refute them. Cicero wrote the *De Fato* when Vergil was twenty-six years old. Vergil was thoroughly committed to the Stoic belief in fate. *Fatum*, *ineluctabile fatum* is the *leit motiv* of the whole of the *Aeneid*. In the first six books alone there are more than sixty references to fate and predestination. From the very beginning it is the good fortune of Aeneas

to have his way of destiny pointed out for him by a succession of prophets and prophetesses. He is guided by the shade of Hector, the phantom of his wife Creusa, the oracle of Delian Apollo, his fellow-countryman Helenus, Mercury, the Cumaeen Sibyl, the prophetic words of his father Anchises in the lower world, and by a long series of omens and portents. Here again Vergil followed the precepts of the Stoics, who accepted *in toto* the arts of divination of the ancient world. Christianity was not altogether free from this, for it had accepted such stories of divination as are recorded in the Old Testament—the prophetic dreams of Joseph, the signs vouchsafed to Gideon, and the revelations of the future which the spirit of Samuel made to Saul through the necromancy of the Witch of Endor. The Stoics held that God, foreknowing the future, would surely reveal it to his creatures. The arguments with which they supported this belief are preserved for us in the first book of Cicero's *De Divinatione*. But in the second book of the *De Divinatione* Cicero blows to atoms these arguments of the Stoics. He confides to us that of the twelve augurs who functioned for the Roman state in his day only one really believed in augury, and that he was the laughing-stock of his fellow-augurs. He further informs us that in his opinion divination was a compound made up of "a little error, a little superstition, and a good deal of fraud" and that the college of augurs could be justified only on the ground of political expediency. It is perhaps worth remembering that Cicero when he wrote the *De Divinatione* was a member of the college of augurs. There is some evidence that Vergil in his heart of hearts shared this view of Cicero's. After he has used omens and portents throughout the whole *Aeneid*, in the twelfth book he intimates that Italian minds are too easily disturbed by signs and prodigies.

In a world in which every detail has been foreordained from all eternity, the question naturally arises in the Christian mind, and in the Stoic mind as well, what room there is left for prayer. Socrates met the difficulty by saying that we should not pray for specific things, because we did not know what particular things

were for our highest good; we should rather ask the Deity for such things as were for our good. You will remember that the heart of the Lord's prayer is the petition "Thy will be done." Vergil's attitude is much the same. He assures us that the adamant decrees of fate cannot be changed by prayer. And yet on half a dozen different occasions he allows Aeneas to offer up a prayer — and straightway the prayer is answered. Our explanation of this seeming contradiction is the fact that Aeneas is already informed concerning the course of fate, and the prayer he offers is for something that is in harmony with this general course of fate. In other words, it is the Christian petition: "Thy will be done."

There is another doctrine which is especially dear to the Apostle Paul, which we find in Stoicism and in the poems of Vergil — the doctrine of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit. We find this doctrine presented in the myth at the close of Plato's dialogue, the *Gorgias*. It recurs with much amplification in the *Moral Letters* of Seneca. It is also briefly presented in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* where in the lower world the power of the flesh to contaminate the spirit is discussed.

If one were called upon to name the most fundamental principle of the New Testament, he would be compelled to say that it is the doctrine of love, sympathy, and good-will. It is therefore our duty to inquire what part such a doctrine played in Greek philosophy and in the writings of Vergil. In the *Alcibiades*, a dialogue ascribed to Plato, we are taught that the most strengthening influence in any state is a spirit of friendliness existing among all its citizens — a spirit of love, such love as exists between a husband and his wife, or between a father and his sons. The brotherhood of man was a doctrine taught by Stoicism from its foundation. When Zeno wrote his *Republic* he declared that love was to be the guiding principle in that state.

This is a Utopian dream. But whoever has drawn a faithful picture of the ideal relations of a husband and wife, or of the ideal relations between a father and his sons, has contributed something towards the realization of that dream, this hope that

eventually the basis of all human relations shall be the love and affection which make the home at its best the apex of human achievement. That Vergil could make such a contribution, that he could draw such an alluring picture of conjugal affection, although he was never married, is a strong testimony concerning the quality of the home in which he spent his childhood. Old bachelor as he was, he seems to have described with tenderest emotion nearly all the phases of love. Who can ever forget the idyllic picture of the little boy falling in love with the little girl, the boy of eleven swept from the moorings of childhood by a glimpse of a little maiden beneath an apple tree in autumn. Lord Macaulay was not far wrong when he declared that these lines<sup>2</sup> in the eighth *Eclogue* were the finest lines in Latin literature:

You remember our hedges—you were only a little girl; the apples were all covered with dew. I was your guide. I can see you still as you were gathering apples with my mother. I was only eleven—just beginning my twelfth year. How fragile the branches were. I could just touch them from the ground. When I saw you, how I was lost, how a frenzy swept me from my senses.

Vergil seems to know that the riches of love can be accurately measured only by its poignant losses. It will always be a blot in the scutcheon of our poet that he permitted Augustus to compel him to omit from the last book of the *Georgics* his tribute to his friend Gallus, who had died in political disgrace in Egypt. We would give much to have this tribute to friendship. But perhaps it is no mere accident that Vergil in his grief for his lost friend substituted for this tribute to friendship the poignant story of Orpheus and Eurydice. Christian painters and poets have been glad to adopt this story of a love that could not be blocked by Cerberus or the gates of Hell, and of a lover who melted the hearts of Pluto and Proserpina, who almost succeeded in winning back to the upper world his lost Eurydice, and who would have succeeded if it had not been for his excessive solicitude.

<sup>2</sup> *Saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala*  
*(dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem;*  
*alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus;*  
*iam fragiles poteram ab terra contingere ramos.*  
*ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error! [Vss. 37-41]*

I shall not attempt to recount the long story of the filial devotion of Aeneas to Anchises, or the story of his anxious care for all that related to the well-being of his little son Iulus. Of all this Vergil writes with infinite tenderness. The love of Aeneas is not limited, however, by family lines. He has a father's care for all his fellow-Trojans, who in turn are devoted to him and to each other. Nisus can give up his life to die with his comrade Euryalus. This was the Euryalus who could not bear to say "Good-bye" to his aged mother, as he was setting out on what proved to be his final adventure in war.

I hesitate to use the expression "the adventure of war," because it does not rightly represent Vergil's attitude of mind. In the last six books of the *Aeneid*, which are largely devoted to descriptions of war, there are only four passages which hint at the glamour of an army with banners and its power to enlist the enthusiasm of the youthful mind. It is true that he offers us an exquisite picture of Camilla leading her hosts to battle. But this is a tribute to the glory of young womanhood, rather than a tribute to the glory of war. On the whole, Vergil is a pacifist. His Golden Age is to be an age of peace. His great pride in the Roman Empire, that is to have dominion without end, is based on the fact that it is to be a rule of peace. To him war is something that is born in Hell. When Juno would rouse the Trojans and Italians to war, she is obliged to call to her assistance Allecto, the chief fury of Tartarus. At the sound of Allecto's trumpet "terror-stricken mothers clasp their children to their breasts." The war-note of the clarion is to Vergil a *cruentum signum*, "a bloody signal" that means the desolation of fields and homes, the piling high of corpses on the plain, the tears of fathers and mothers who have lost their sons in the bloom of youth. War is to him a *rabies* and a *pestis*, "a frenzy and a pestilential scourge." Of the twelve different adjectives which Vergil uses to describe war, not one is complimentary or has any glamour to touch the imagination. War is *mortiferum*, *horridum*, *infandum*, *nefandum*, *importunum*, *superbum*, *dirum*, *durum*, *saevum*, *triste*, *crudele*, and *lacrimabile*. The three most vivid pictures of war which

Vergil offers us are pictures of war's irreparable losses. There is the mother of Euryalus, raging in frenzy when she hears of the death of her son. There is the aged Evander waiting in desolation while the body of his only son is being brought home upon a bier. There is the aged Galaesus, who, like a true pacifist, in self-sacrifice throws himself between the contending battle lines in an attempt to stop the conflict.

While in all the *Aeneid* there is no explicit command to love one's enemies, there is an atmosphere of sympathy that reaches out in all directions and is commensurate with human suffering and distress. The flower plucked in the meadow, the doe that wanders to its death with an arrow in its side, the ox that dies of the plague as it plows the field, and even the grim and murderous Cyclops in his distress — all these are not beyond the sympathy of Vergil.

However much he might believe with the Stoics that this is the best possible world and that everything occurs according to the will of Heaven, Vergil was not blind to the fact that grief and sorrow make their way into every life. He could not understand how any soul that had once gained the Elysian fields could ever wish to "return to the sluggish fellowship of the body." "Poor mortals that we are, our brightest days of life are ever the first to fly; on creeps disease and the gloom of age, and suffering sweeps us off, and the ruthless cruelty of death." We can well say of all Vergil what Aeneas said as he gazed at the pictures of Trojan battles in Dido's temple: "Here there are tears for human troubles, here the mind is touched by the sorrows of man who was born to die."

*Sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

It can reasonably be doubted whether any Christian who has failed to attain such an understanding sympathy as this, can hope to obey the command to love his neighbor, and much less the command to love his enemies.

We need not hesitate to say that Vergil's greatest contribution to the higher thinking of our modern world is not his denial of Epicurus' contention that death ends all, but rather the spirit of

human sympathy with which he looks out upon the struggles of his fellow-mortals in a difficult and perplexing world. There is something in that statement of Sidonius that the reading of Vergil could soften the customs even of the Scythians. Sidonius himself had lived among the Goths and perhaps had had an opportunity to see the effect of Vergil upon a barbarian people. At all events we must admit that Vergil has his atmosphere and that one cannot live with him without learning something of a milder, gentler way of life. His teachings are the more effective because they are the casual *obiter dicta* of a great poet telling an entrancing story. Our hearts burn within us as we walk with him and hear him discourse in immortal lines of the miraculous beauty of natural scenes, the beauty of sunrise and of the dawn of love, the beauty of *pietas*, of a father's devotion to his son, and of a son's devotion to his father, the beauty of courage and self-sacrifice, the beauty of girlhood, and the beauty of Orpheus' deathless love of Eurydice.

## TERENCE AND MENANDER <sup>1</sup>

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To the last decade was granted the rare spectacle of recrudescence of interest in the study of an ancient writer. Of course I do not mean to imply that no one had studied Terence prior to the third decade of the twentieth century; one need only glance at the successive volumes of the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica* to be convinced of the contrary. But it is likely that Lefebvre's discovery of extensive Menandrian papyri in 1905 required some fifteen years to bear full fruition in the study of that Latin playwright to whom Menander had given so much. At any rate a new edition of Terence's comedies, a volume dealing with his syntax and another with his dramatic genius, three works on the history of his text, the photographic reproduction of the most ornate MS of his plays, and two complete translations into English,<sup>2</sup> not to mention still other books and numerous special articles, constitute convincing evidence of quickened interest.

Of the works to which reference has just been made the earliest is Norwood's *The Art of Terence* (1923), though doubtless some of the others antedated it in inception and were in no wise in-

<sup>1</sup> Read before the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Bloomington, Ind., April 3, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gilbert Norwood, *The Art of Terence*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1923); Günther Jachmann, *Die Geschichte des Terentextes im Altertum*: Basel, Friedrich Reinhardt (1924); Robert Kauer and Wallace M. Lindsay, *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1926); J. D. Craig, *Jovialis and the Calliopian Text of Terence*: London, Humphrey Milford (1927); William Ritchie, *The Plays of Terence*: London, G. Bell and Sons (1927); Günther Jachmann, *Terentius—Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3868*: Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz (1928); J. T. Allardice, *Syntax of Terence*: London, Humphrey Milford (1929); J. D. Craig, *Ancient Editions of Terence*: London, Humphrey Milford (1929); and F. Perry, *The Comedies of Terence*: London, Humphrey Milford (1929).

spired by it. In this volume, extremely valuable though it is at other points, Norwood grossly exaggerated the dramatic merits of the Latin playwright, declaring (p. 13) that "Terence uses the Greek New Comedy as a kind of quarry. . . . But the architecture of each play is his own. . . . All the specifically dramatic qualities, all that places him among the great playwrights — all this is Terence and nothing but Terence." Again (p. 3, n.), he complains that he has found "no work on Terence which has (even in a rudimentary manner) demonstrated his architectonic power." And finally he praises the *Hecyra* (p. 90) in the following language: "The truth is, that if we look simply at the work Terence has here bequeathed to us, we find the purest and most perfect example of classical high comedy, strictly so called, which dramatic literature can offer from any age or any nation." In another connection<sup>3</sup> I have already had occasion to criticize this general point of view, and Norwood was himself frank enough to write, in a letter dated December 24, 1928: "Let me say at once that your treatment appears to me very fair . . . Though by no means entirely convinced, I confess that you have considerably damaged my position as regards his originality . . ."

I have no desire to carry the argument further at this time, especially since Norwood expects to return to it in his forthcoming volume on Greek Comedy. I now refer to his position only because it constitutes such an absolute antithesis to another judgment which has recently been advanced by Professor L. A. Post<sup>4</sup> of Haverford College and to which I wish to devote the bulk of my present paper.

In view of Norwood's extreme position Post thinks the moment opportune "for a reinforcement of the traditional attitude towards Terence" (p. 121), which he summarizes as follows: (1) "Terence permitted to evaporate from [Greek comedies]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "On the Originality of Terence," *Phil. Quart.* vii (1928), 97-114. See also n. 27 below.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Menander*, Three Plays: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1929), 1-13 and 113-28, and in "The Art of Terence," *Class. Wk.* xxiii (1930), 121-28. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Post's opinions are to his article in the *Class. Wk.*, not to his translation.

much of their evanescent charm"; (2) he "blurred the strokes of character-drawing" in the Greek originals; (3) "he unskillfully manipulated the plots until the result is stagy and artificial"; and (4) he lacked "genius," as Post interprets *vis* in Caesar's well-known epigram. Post grants Terence the three merits of (A) "exhibiting a purified Latin style," (B) of "punctuating his plays with noble sentiments," and (C) of being "distinguished for elegance and humanity" (p. 123). Even here, however, Post believes that the "noble sentiments" are too numerous and often out of place, that the elegance and humanity are overdone, and that even the style has received too great a polish.

The fact is that Post is strongly devoted to Menander and has been stung by what he considers the ineptitude of critics<sup>5</sup> to spring to his defense. Evidently accepting the dictum that the best defensive is an offensive, he has assailed the *dimidiatus Menander*, a poor policy in this instance, for almost every missile recoils upon his own hero's head. His statement that "The kind critic will institute no such comparison" (p. 126) of Terence and Menander has a double application.

We are confronted here with a strange situation, somewhat resembling that which obtains in the case of Euripides. It is well known that seven plays of Aeschylus, seven of Sophocles, and nine of Euripides were chosen at an early date for reading in the schools, being thus preserved by numerous copies and amply provided with scholia derived from the lengthy commentaries of grammarians. But chance preserved two MSS with ten more Euripidean plays, without scholia; and some of these additional works were distinctly second-rate, so that the result of their accidental survival has not been altogether favorable to the poet's reputation as a dramatist. Similarly, the ancients entertained an

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Plays*, p. 2: "Though we have the material to enable us to appreciate Menander, it does not follow that Menander has always been appreciated by those who have studied that material. It should require no argument to prove that all scholars are not literary critics, that not all professors, any more than all parsons or all artists, can enjoy a lively picture on the stage of ordinary people caught in the net of circumstance and revealing their humanity in spite of themselves."

exalted opinion of Menander, which the fragments, usually short in themselves but reaching a large aggregate of verses, did not permit modern critics to do aught but accept. The godsend of the new (and more closely related) papyrus finds, however, has emboldened present-day critics to form their own judgments, and these have not always been so appreciative as those handed down by tradition. Thus, to cite only a few instances, Allen refers to the period when "Menander and others were amusing the Athenians with second-rate comedies." Wendell says that the new fragments "are generally agreed to be disappointing." Richards wrote: "But we are now better able to form an opinion on the question that has often been vainly raised, whether Menander was really a dramatic writer of superlative merit, a writer (let us say) who could hold his own against Aristophanes. So far as the eight hundred lines of the new fragments enable us to judge, I think it will be the general verdict that he was not." And Tarn passes the following judgment: "His importance to his age is undoubted; also he was tremendously quotable, which helped him to live. . . . It is proper to praise him without stint. . . . But to the writer he and his imitators seem about the dreariest desert in literature."<sup>6</sup> These critics may be wrong, but they are representative of a reaction in judging Meander.

I shall now proceed to comment briefly upon each of Post's seven points. Charge (1) reads that Terence "permitted to evaporate from [the Greek comedies of Menander and Apollodorus] much of their evanescent charm" (p. 121). This criticism Post attempts to justify in the first instance by the well-known passage in which Aulus Gellius (II, 23) stated that, although Latin comedies appear charming — even incapable of being surpassed — when read by themselves, they seem uninspired when compared with their Greek originals, a criticism which he supported by

<sup>6</sup> Cf. James T. Allen, *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and Their Influence*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1927), 80; Barrett Wendell, *The Traditions of European Literature from Homer to Dante*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1920), 138; Herbert Richards, *Class. Quart.* II (1908), 134; and W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*<sup>2</sup>: London, Edward Arnold and Co. (1930), 240.

three parallel passages from Menander's *Plocium* and Caecilius Statius' translation, from which he missed *illud Menandri de vita hominum media sumptum, simplex et verum et delectabile*. There is some warrant for Gellius' disparagement of Caecilius here,<sup>7</sup> in fact I do not consider that in these three passages Caecilius has translated Menander at all — he has simply taken Menander as a point of departure and filled in the details himself, the sort of thing that modern poets like Austin Dobson or Eugene Field have been so fond of doing with Horace's odes. But in any case what has Caecilius' method of working to do with Terence? Post tries to bridge this gap in his argument by pointing out that, since Volcacius Sedigitus (Gellius xv, 24, 1) rated Caecilius first and Terence only sixth in his canon of Latin comic playwrights, these criticisms must apply a fortiori to the latter. At the best, this is a tenuous procedure. Moreover, one recalls the pleasure, mentioned by Naevius, *laudari a laudato viro*; but who was Volcacius to give pleasure by his praise or to brand with his disapproval? He flourished about 100 B.C. and is all but unknown. Sihler is surely right in saying that "it remains almost inexplicable that half a century or so after the death of Terence any unprejudiced literary judgment should have assigned to Terence so mean a place." Volcacius' animosity is scarcely concealed in his account of Terence's death:

*Iter hinc in Asiam fecit. ut navem semel  
conscendit, visus numquam est: sic vita vacat.*<sup>8</sup>

Sihler plausibly lays this hostility and also the extraordinary bitterness with which Terence was pursued, not only during his lifetime but even beyond the grave, at the door of the Collegium Poetarum.<sup>9</sup> Volcacius' authority as a critic may be seen from the fact that in fourth place he named Porcius Licinius, another member of the Collegium several years before, who is not otherwise known to have written any comedies at all, and that in the four

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Flickinger, *Phil. Quart.* vii (1928), 98-100.

<sup>8</sup> Apud Suetonius' *Vita Terenti* as preserved by Donatus.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. G. Sihler, "The Collegium Poetarum at Rome," *Am. Jour. Phil.* xxvi (1905), 1-21, especially p. 13.

poets whom he listed beneath Terence in his canon he included, in ninth place, Luscius Lanuvinus, the scurrilous persecutor of Terence during his whole dramatic career, and, in last place, Ennius *causa antiquitatis*! Professor Post is courageous when he seeks to base his argument upon such a critic.

He would have been at the same time kinder and fairer if he had mentioned that Afranius, the eminent writer of *fabulae togatae*, of whom Horace wrote:

*Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro*,<sup>10</sup>

"preferred him to all the comic poets," referred to Terence as the "Latin Menander," and in his play called the *Compitalia* declared:

*Terenti non consimilem dicas quempiam*.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, according to Varro, whose judgment in such matters deserves the highest respect, Terence *in ethesin poscit palmam*, of which Legrand<sup>12</sup> gives the following interpretation:

As for Varro's remark, it does not necessarily allude to a gift in independent observation and creation. What it meant to convey is, no doubt, that Terence, when compared with Plautus, Caecilius, and other writers of the *palliata*, reproduced the subtlety of the Hellenic models with greater fidelity.

Post's second argument in support of criticism (1), moreover, is just as unsubstantial as the first. "From a comparison of the fragmentary plays of Menander," he declares (p. 121), we should find that "the later poet succeeds no better than Caecilius in rendering the delicate play of emotion that is found in Menander's scenes." This contention may be briefly dismissed; the evidence is quite insufficient either to prove it or disprove it. Menander wrote over one hundred comedies of which only three are preserved with even relative adequacy, and Terence six, of which two were translated from Apollodorus. Terence's four Menandrian plays are not derived from the three plays of Menander of

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Epistles* II, 1, 57, and *Phil. Woch.* XLVII (1927), 1501.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Macrobius VI, 1, 4; Pascall, "Il Menandro Latino," *Athenaeum* IV (1926), 48-51; and Donatus' *Vita*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ph. E. Legrand, *The New Greek Comedy*, translated by James Loeb: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1917), 50.

which most extensive fragments are found. Moreover, all six of Terence's plays are essentially of one type, which again is somewhat different from that of Menander's best preserved three. In this situation no such deduction as Post endeavors to draw can legitimately be established.

Indictment (2) against Terence runs to the effect that he "blurred the strokes of character-drawing" in the Greek originals (p. 121). The argument here is again based upon Caecilius, who "blunts and blurs all [the successive emotions in Menander] and deprives the situation of the interest and charm that it had in Menander" (p. 121). But Caecilius is not Terence, as I have already shown; and Post must find better evidence. This he tries to do on p. 122, when he says that "all the characters talk the same elegant, undifferentiated, conversational Latin," and on p. 123, when he declares that

Terence's plays, instead of presenting every man in his humor, present high and low, sinners and saints in one humor, which may be supposed to be that of Terence himself . . . crude morals are so smothered in sentiment that a play of Terence seems to have many parts, but only one character, who might well be called Joseph Surface, or the man of sentiment.

Again, on p. 124, he says:

I find in Menander . . . a liveliness in the characters such that they seem to have escaped from their author's brain and to have an existence of their own. . . . They have touches of individuality not needed for their parts in the play. . . . They are presented . . . *ornate, copiose, varieque*. . . . Homer and Menander have [this genius]; so has Sophocles, to some extent. Terence lacked it. . . . Terence has no slaves with individuality.

Here there are several things to be said. In the first place, Post has been felicitous in referring to Sheridan. He and Terence really have several characteristics in common. But Post might have cited Sheridan's own defense against a charge similar to that now brought against Terence; cf. *The Critic* Act III, Scene i:

*Sneer.* But, Mr. Puff, I think not only the Justice, but the clown seems to talk in as high a style as the first hero among them.

*Puff.* Heaven forbid that they should not in a free country! — Sir, I

am not for making slavish distinctions, and giving all the fine language to the upper sort of people.

*Dangle.* That's very noble in you, indeed.

In the same way all of Euripides' characters tend to philosophize, whatever their station. It is a dramatic fault which is not incompatible with capacity in a playwright. Moreover, in doing this Terence had a purpose in view for which I think he also deliberately modified small points in his Greek originals. Scipio and Laelius, whose patronage he enjoyed, wished to elevate and refine their fellow countrymen by placing before them the best Greek models in the choicest Latin at their command. Terence was one of their agents, and this was one of their methods of operation. The deliberate choosing of a certain type of play from among the many types available was, in my opinion, another. Therefore, the "one humor" represented in Terence (and it is not altogether true that there is but one), is not so much that of Terence himself as of any member of the Scipionic Circle.

As to the alleged fact that Menander's characters have "touches of individuality not needed for their parts," while Terence's lack this quality, it should be remembered that to ancient thought this characteristic, even if proved, would usually have been considered a merit in Terence and a defect in Menander. The same point of view which called for the exclusion of comic elements from tragedy, contrary to Shakespearean practice, called also for the exclusion of irrelevant, inconsistent details in character delineation.<sup>13</sup>

As to the contention that Terence's characters, whether slaves or others, lack individuality, so far as it is true, it is true of other ancient dramatists, also. For myself, I can only record my own feeling that I notice no essential difference between Terence and Menander in this respect.<sup>14</sup> It is difficult to debate such an issue

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*<sup>3</sup>: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1926), 201f and 266f.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Siess, "Über die Charakterzeichnung in den Komödien des Terenz," *Wiener Studien* xxviii (1906), 229: "... das Wesen der einzelnen Gestalten hat Terenz immer unberührt gelassen." Of course Siess did not have the benefit of the new fragments.

when we do not possess a single comedy in the two versions, Greek and Latin, nor even a full-length picture of a single Menandrian character as he would be seen in a complete play. For the rest, when I remember that Cornford thought that if Agamemnon in Aeschylus "can be said to have a character at all it consists solely of certain defects which make him liable to Insolence," while Goodell believed that this same play contained a group of characters "exhibiting a fullness of individuality that the greatest actors would find inexhaustible,"<sup>15</sup> it becomes evident that controversies of this sort are highly subjective regardless of the completeness of the data available. Even in analyzing the same character Norwood (*op. cit.* 77) considers Phormio a "polished creature," while Post (p. 122) calls him "an old reprobate who refuses to grow up"!

According to charge (3) Terence "unskillfully manipulated the plots until the result is stagy and artificial" (p. 121). I do not see that Post has presented any real evidence whatsoever for this generalization. It is true that on p. 127 he says:

Aside from the *Phormio* the only really dramatic play of Terence is the *Adelphi*, and here we have a conflict of principles, of two different methods of education. . . . He has probably blunted the interest of the play in more than one respect. . . . If we may guess from Menander's other works what his *Adelphi* was like, we may say that in this play he worked out to the end the conflict between the theories of education held by Micio and Demea. Menander would naturally take sides with the cause of freedom and sympathy. In Terence's *Adelphi* the conflict becomes meaningless because both boys turn out to be equally corrupt in morals and equally good at heart.

But the editor of the *Classical Weekly* in added material of his own (note 9) pointed out that a like conflict is found also in Terence's *Heauton*, and Miss Wilner<sup>16</sup> thinks Terence "particularly addicted to contrasting principal characters, a preference which Siess traces to Menander; but this technique is by no means lacking in Plautus (and therefore in his models)."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *The Greek Theater*, 266 and 357.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ortho L. Wilner, "Contrast and Repetition as Devices in the Technique of Character Portrayal in Roman Comedy," *Class. Phil.* xxv (1930), 56-71.

Moreover, if Menander and Terence differed radically in the treatment of the conflict of educational principles in the *Adelphoe*, as suggested by Post, it was Terence whose presentation was *de vita hominum media sumptum, simplex et verum et delectabile*, since life itself teaches us that no system of education is perfect and impeccable and that measures must be adapted to varying natures and variable situations. It is my belief that Menander was well aware of this fact and that his play did not differ essentially from Terence's. Post himself seems to concede nearly as much when he says that, although the *Adelphoe* is

the best and the most significant of the plays of Terence, nevertheless I have not used it to illustrate the art of Terence, because *its virtues are typically Menandrian*, and the touches that are known to be Terence's own are not improvements [p. 127, italics mine].

As to the last phrase, there is this to be said. At times Terence transferred a scene or scenes from one Greek play into another which he was translating (*contaminatio*). This material was still Greek, and usually Menandrian. In any case, it was relatively unimportant. Apart from this, Terence's known alterations are trifling<sup>17</sup>:

Moreover, we know from the commentary of Donatus that he occasionally retouched Menander's or Apollodorus' characters with a view to making them more perfect. Thus, it appears that in the *Phormio* he cut out a wish that was too ingenuously selfish. In another place he gave more space to the parasite's profession of faith than Apollodorus had given it. When Geta interprets Demipho's thoughts for him, in order the more readily to allay his distrust, the poet attributes a remark to him which, in the original, was made by Demipho himself. In the *Andria* he transforms a cold and didactic speech addressed by Davus to Mysis into a question which meant the same thing but conveyed a greater sense of urgency. When the father of the family thinks that he is being deceived by his son, Terence represents him as being more unhappy than he is in Menander's play. In the *Adelphi* Demea does not even answer the greeting of Micio when he comes upon the stage. Donatus declares that this is a bit of rudeness which was not to be found in the original. Further on, it is said that if Ctesipho had not been allowed to

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Legrand, *op. cit.* 50f; a few other examples are given on pp. 43f. These lists are typical but do not exhaust the subject.

have his music girl, he would have gone into exile; in the Ἀδελφοί he contemplated suicide. When, towards the end of the play, an attempt is made to induce Micio to marry the aged Sostrata, Micio rebels, as he naturally would; in Menander's play he apparently bore his fate willingly, or at least did not offer so much resistance. Did Terence, then, invent so much, add or suppress so much in the process of drawing his characters that we need have constant samples when we quote him [as a source for Greek comedy]? The changes indicated by Donatus are not of great consequence, and it is hard to understand why they should have been thought worthy of special mention if many others of greater importance had existed. Donatus — or the authors upon whom he relied — must have pointed out only such of them as constituted something exceptional in the works of Terence.

Certainly at least some of these alterations seem as if they might have been improvements. It is noteworthy that in several instances the motive for the change was such as would have appealed to the ideals of the Scipionic Circle.

The last charge (4; pp. 121f) is that Terence lacked "genius," as Post interprets *vis* in Caesar's epigram:

*Tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,  
poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.  
lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,  
comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore  
cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres.  
unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.*

Post bases his interpretation of *vis* as meaning "genius" (*vis ingeni*) upon certain passages in Cicero, but Knapp (n. 10, second paragraph) rightly objects that "we cannot prove merely by Cicero's use of *vis* what Caesar meant by that word."

We might better turn for help to Horace, *Serm.* I, 4, 40-56. He says that to be recognized as a poet it is not enough to set down words that will scan or to write something like ordinary conversation (*sermoni propiora*, vs. 42). The poet must have genius (*ingenium*), the fire of inspiration (*mens divini*), and elevation of style (*os magna sonaturum*). Therefore some have inquired whether a comedy should be recognized as poetry at all, since

*acer spiritus ac vis  
nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo  
differt sermoni, sermo merus* [vss. 46-48].

He then sketches a scene not unusual in comedy in which a father blusters against his wayward son. Without doubt such a scene has forcefulness (*pater ardens saevit*), so that *vis* in vs. 46 must involve more than that quality, since Horace rejects the claim of such an episode to the name of poetry for the reason that any father in private life would express himself no less strongly (*numquid . . . leviora*, vss. 52f). Wherefore he concludes that it is not enough to fashion verses out of words so lacking in distinction, pungency, or elevation (*puris verbis*, vs. 54) that, if the scansion be broken up, any father would scold as effectively as the father on the stage. Thus we see that *os magna sonaturum* and *vis* refer to the same characteristic, viz. distinction or elevation of style. But this is exactly what Donatus says (ad *Phorm.* vs. 5) that Terence was criticized for lacking: *revera autem hoc deterius a<sup>18</sup> Menandro Terentius indicabatur, quod minus sublimi oratione uteretur*. And this, also, is what Caesar meant by *vis* in his epigram.<sup>19</sup>

Now Sihler<sup>20</sup> made no mistake in pointing out that the similarity in thought and phraseology between Caesar's lines and Cicero's

*Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,  
conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum  
in medium nobis sedatis motibus<sup>21</sup> effers,  
quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia miscens,<sup>21</sup>*

was too great to be accidental and probably grew out of their

<sup>18</sup> Two MSS omit *a*, which is manifestly an error.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. S. Radford, "The Judgment of Caesar upon the *Vis* of Terence," *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* xxxii (1901), xxxix-xli.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *op. cit.* 13-17 and *Annals of Caesar*, a Critical Biography with a Survey of the Sources: New York, G. E. Stechert and Co. (1911), 5; W. A. Oldfather and Gladys Bloom, the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxii (1927), 587f; and J. W. Spaeth, *ibid.* xxvi (1931), 601.

<sup>21</sup> These two words represent emendations by Barth and Ritschl respectively for *vocibus* and *dicens* of the MSS. Though they are both generally accepted, it is not certain that either is really justifiable.

contacts with M. Antonius Gniphio, a *grammaticus* in the Collegium Poetarum. At any rate they seem to agree that, whereas Menander had both choice diction and *vis*, Terence lacked the latter. Now I believe that with few, and here negligible, exceptions Terence translated Menander with a maximum of fidelity. How, then, if he retained purity of style, was it possible for him to lose Menander's kind of *vis*? Certainly, under these conditions, he could not have lost much forcefulness of the dramatic action. The loss must have come from his vocabulary by reason of his eschewing harsh, coarse, virile words in favor of milder synonyms, as Cicero says, *come loquens* and *omnia dulcia miscens*, thus representing characters *sedatis motibus*. This is the basis for whatever justification there is for Post's statement that all Terence's characters tend to use "the same elegant, undifferentiated, conversational Latin." Thus we again obtain the same interpretation of *vis* as Horace has given us.

Since Caesar and Cicero seem to deny to Terence half of Menander's qualities, it is tempting to follow the majority in interpreting Caesar's *o dimidiate Menander* as "half Menander." When scholars unite in understanding Horace's *animae dimidium meae* (*Odes* 1, 3, 7) as meaning literally that Horace was only half a soul without Vergil, then I shall be ready to believe that Caesar meant that Terence was only a fifty per cent Menander. Horace meant that he and Vergil constituted a double-souled superentity, a double star, as it were, whose brilliance would be cut in half if they were torn asunder. And I think that Caesar meant that Menander's magnitude was doubled when to his Greek plays were added Latin doublets, the two men making up a superdramatist with plays in both languages. In other words, Terence is a counterpart or second volume of Menander, a twin-Menander, a *conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum* (in Cicero's phrase), a *Menander Latinus* (Afranius). The same point of view obtains also in *Heauton*, vs. 6, where Terence says that the single plot (*argumentum simplex*) of Menander's Greek play has become *duplex* by reason of his translating it into Latin, an interpretation which is preserved in the scholia. Post does not

refer to my interpretation of these passages,<sup>22</sup> which doubtless means that he does not accept it. At least we are united in rejecting Norwood's "Menander in two sections" (*Art of Terence* p. 142, n.).

We may now turn to the other side of the picture and examine the points of excellence which Post is willing to concede to the Latin playwright. According to (A) Terence had "the merit of exhibiting a purified Latin style" (p. 121). "His art is the art of polishing expressions. . . . As a stylist . . . Terence could better Menander." (P. 128) The context, however, as will presently appear, indicates that this is a merit for which Post has scant respect. But since this detail is not essential for my own point of view, I shall not stop to debate it here. Nevertheless, I cannot help wondering upon what concrete evidence Post has based this generalization. So far as I can discover, the only evidence which he offers is *Heauton*, vs. 77 (see below), which he surmises "was much more pointed in Terence than in the Greek original."

In the second place (B), Terence had

the merit . . . of punctuating his plays with noble sentiments calculated to win the applause and approval of an audience that liked to have its morality and its humanity inserted like plums in a pudding and easily recognizable [p. 121].

Menander is a flower-garden, rich in blooms, which, though they have their counterpart in nature, are here cultivated with all the resources of art, to the enhancement of their native charm and variety. Everywhere is fragrance, a diffused sweetness that is universally present but intangible. Terence meanwhile is the bee who industriously gathers and digests the nectar of the flowers and presents it to us in the form of honey neatly packed in combs, concentrated and abstracted for ready consumption with the bread of Roman respectability. [P. 123]

There are many good jokes in [Terence's] plays, while quotable comments on human life are still more numerous. . . . On the modern stage, moreover, a play that abounds in verbal wit and epigrams is usually recognized as a weak play that has had to be bolstered up with lines calculated to bring down the house. Jokes and sententious remarks can be taken from any source, polished up, and inserted anywhere. The famous remark,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Phil. Quart.* vi (1927), 251-54.

*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto* (Heauton 77),

was apparently much more pointed in Terence than in the original Greek, and there is every reason to believe the story that it was applauded by the audience, for the construction of Terence's plays is enough in itself to prove that his chief concern was to produce such polished bits of philosophy. His audience must have relished such things or he would not have provided them at the expense of truth and charm in character and plot. [P. 127]

Upon all this my first comment will be "interesting, if true." Terence is quotable, no one will deny that statement; but so was Menander, so was all New Comedy. An American editor<sup>23</sup> calls attention to the fact that five proverbs appear upon a single page of a certain comedy, but he happens to be referring to a play by Plautus (the *Mostellaria*). In the Old Menander we possessed some 1800 verses, to which about 1500 verses have been added by the new discoveries. The former consisted of passages of varying length from a few words to several lines. To a considerable extent they had been preserved to us by having been cited to illustrate some peculiar usage in vocabulary or construction. But a high percentage of them had been quoted for their value as maxims. At least this portion of them we must lay to the door not of Terence but of Menander himself, who had the honor of being quoted by St. Paul in *I Corinthians* xv, 33 ("Evil communications corrupt good manners," possibly going back to Euripides), and who was the author also of the famous saying, "Whom the gods love dies young." These samples are not unrepresentative of what Menander could do and did do.<sup>24</sup> The fact is, however, that in the failure of Terence's four Menandrian plays to coincide with any of the larger fragments of Menander one ought not to be dogmatic in a matter of this sort. Nevertheless the situation is not left entirely uncertain, as appears from Table I, which I have compiled from Kock's and Allinson's editions of the fragments.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *T. Macci Plauti Mostellaria*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1925), n. ad vs. 790.

<sup>24</sup> There are extant also 758 one-line maxims (γνώμαι μονόστιχοι) attributed to Menander. Many of them are doubtless authentically derived from his plays.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Theodorus Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*: Leipzig, B. G.

TABLE I

	Allinson		Kock	
	Greek Fragments	Terence	Greek Fragments	Terence
<i>Adelphoe</i>	10 (4)*	5	12 (3)*	8
<i>Andria</i>	4 (1)	3	13 (1)	12
<i>Eunuch</i>	4 (1)	3†	9 (1)	5
<i>Heauton</i>	4 (1)	3	9 (1)	5
	22 (7)	14‡	43 (6)	30

\* Figures in parentheses indicate Greek fragments of Menander, *not* translated by Terence, which have value as maxims.

† One of these appears in Terence's *Andria*.

‡ Terence also used two fragments belonging to that portion of the *Perinthia* which he introduced into his *Andria*.

It will be remembered that Allinson ignored the smallest fragments of Menander and that Kock antedated the Lefebvre papyri. There are numerous questions which arise here, but for present purposes I have not gone back of the returns, i.e., in each instance I have accepted Kock's or Allinson's judgment that a given fragment was or was not used by (or at least known to) Terence. It will be observed that Terence used two-thirds (14 out of 22) of the Greek fragments which Allinson listed for these four plays, and that of the 8 which Terence did not use I have classified 7 as having gnomic values. The figures for Kock are about the same when allowance is made for the fact that he cited every known fragment, however small. The fact that Terence failed to avail himself of seven opportunities to use Menandrian aphorisms (almost one-third of the extant fragments for these plays) throws discredit upon the supposition that he out-Menandered Menander in his use of sententious remarks. The only evidence here which looks in the opposite direction is the fact that Donatus informs us that *Andria*, vss. 959-61, were transferred from Menander's *Eunuch*. In view of the situation just outlined it is incumbent upon Post to produce such evidence as he may have in a con-

Teubner (1888), Vol II; and F. G. Allinson, *Menander, the Principal Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1921).

trary sense. Until he does so, I do not consider it necessary to attempt to refute the corollaries of this accusation against Terence. In other words, it would be an act of supererogation to attempt to show that he did not play to the galleries by appealing to "Roman respectability" by means of "noble sentiments," that he did not of his own motion introduce "quotable remarks on human life" inappropriately into his plays, or that for this purpose he did not sacrifice "truth and charm in character and plot" — *until* it first be proved that to more than a negligible extent he was diverging from Menander at precisely these points. Will Professor Post produce concrete evidence of this description?

Finally, although Post grants (C) that "the Latin writer is distinguished by elegance and humanity" and that "his humanity is doubtless derived from Menander" (p. 123), he immediately adds "but it has a different flavor . . . is a more artificial product. It is readily grasped, but it is no longer, as humanity is in Menander, merely one element in a composite atmosphere of natural charm." Nevertheless he goes on to say that "The elegance of Terence on the other hand is his most original trait. It is here that he shows his real genius, for genius of a sort he has, since a pure style is not wholly matter of art." Here again we are in the realm of subjective opinion. For myself I see no essential difference between the two writers.

The Roman comedians prepared the Greek dish for the Roman palate in a different manner according to their own peculiar tastes; e.g., Plautus seasoned it with coarse and powerful condiments, Terence, on the other hand, with moderate and delicate seasoning; but it still remained the Attic dish.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, since I believe that Terence translated Menander with unusual fidelity, it seems to me that Post is pursuing mistaken tactics. Whatever blemish he may succeed in detecting in Terence will, in most instances, be found to be inherent in his own favorite. He would be doing Menander a better service by exalting his imitator and admirer.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. K. O. Müller, *A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, Continued after the Author's Death by John William Donaldson: London, John W. Park and Son (1858), II, 65.

Post confesses (p. 127) that he has "not pretended to do justice" to Terence's virtues. In a footnote (n. 10) the editor of the *Classical Weekly* goes him one better by adding: "I think Professor Post has been very unjust to Terence." And I agree with Professor Knapp. Norwood and Post are both men who have received British training, and they write with the verve and freshness which that training knows so well how to inculcate. But it is sometimes the defect of that training that it makes its votaries the victims of their own pens, that they are more concerned in making a neat point in a brilliant phrase than in stating the actual facts, which are often quite sober. Terence was not a creative dramatist with "architectonic power," who deserved sole credit for "the architecture of each play . . . all the specifically dramatic qualities . . . all that places him among the great playwrights"; and Norwood was mistaken in maintaining that he was. On the other hand, he did not blotch and blur and misshape, as Post would have us believe, "permitting the evanescent charm of Menander to evaporate."

Yet as between these two extremes I incline rather to the latter. For a variety of reasons Terence *did* attempt in relatively unimportant ways to "improve" his originals. The manner of these alterations and their reasons I hope to discuss more fully upon some subsequent occasion. But in so doing Terence did not display much architectonic power. In fact he had so little confidence in his own creative resources that, when he added a character to a Greek play, he regularly<sup>27</sup> did so by lifting the character or scene bodily out of another Greek play. And his command of the minutiae of dramatic technique was so slight, or they seemed to him to be of so little consequence, that he often failed to make the proper adjustments therein at the sutures between such diverse materials.<sup>28</sup> He wrote for the rarefied atmosphere of the Scipionic

<sup>27</sup> Schoell even maintains that the rôles of Charinus and Byrria in the *Andria* are due to *contaminatio* and not independent creation, as Donatus seems to imply; cf. Fritz Schoell, "Menanders *Perinthia* in der *Andria* des Terenz," *Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissen., phil.-hist. Klass.*, III (1912), Abhandlung 7.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Helen Rees Clifford, "Dramatic Technique and the Originality of Terence," the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVI (1931), 605-18.

Circle, where the plain style,<sup>29</sup> high thinking, simple living, and restrained emotions were admired. If the influences of that environment produced a certain loss of elevation (*vis*), so much the worse for those who crave stronger excitements. At least he achieved a Latin style which has been the admiration of twenty centuries, and this achievement implies a certain kind of genius, as Post did well to admit, even if there are other kinds of genius which he did not have and to which he did not aspire.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. G. C. Fiske, "The Plain Style in the Scipionic Circle," *Univ. of Wis. Studies in Lang. and Lit.* III (1919), 63-105.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### HOMER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WATER

The most ancient parts of the Old Testament, parts which are almost if not quite contemporary with Homer, abound in expressions of admiration or of affection for water. Typical are such verses as *Psalms* xxiii, 2: "He leadeth me beside the still waters"; *Psalms* xlii, 4: "A river the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God"; the words of the Syrian captain, Naaman, in *II Kings* v, 12: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" but, above all, the wish of David in *II Samuel* xxiii, 15: "Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate."

There is nothing in Homer to put beside any one of these, for that great poet seems to have been entirely indifferent to the refreshing charms of water in any form and Odysseus in all his exile never hints that he longs to drink again from the old spring or from the old well. Homer did feel a certain charm in the beauties of water in its appeal to the eye, but this is surprisingly vague and faint.

In neither poem is there a simile based on the freshness or the invigorating powers of water; indeed in almost every simile in which water plays a part it is described only as a force of destruction. Diomedes (E 88) is compared to a raging river which, having broken all dikes or dams, spreads ruin as it goes. A man (E 597) is pictured as helpless from terror as he sees rushing at him the wild torrent of a river out of its banks. Ajax (A 492) is likened to a river in flood carrying with its rushing waters oaks and pines, then hurling them into the sea.

Water simply as water is never praised in Homer, and the ad-

jectives applied to rivers, springs, or fountains are few, short, and generally indefinite — immeasurably remote from the words of David, or the opening words of Pindar's First *Olympian* (ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ), or Horace's.

*O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro.*

Did the Homeric heroes drink water unmixed with wine? Homer is so reticent in describing all matters of food or of drink that the answer is very uncertain, but it is said of the followers of Pandarus that they drank the black water of the Aesepus River (B 825). The language here seems clear. When Odysseus and his followers reached the land of the Lotus-Eaters, they found and drew water, then slaked their thirst and ate their meal (ι 85), a process which was repeated in κ 56. There is no hint of wine in either passage. Later when they came to the island of the Sun they encamped near a fresh-water spring, their wine was gone, and they were obliged to use water for pouring over their sacrifices; hence of course they had no wine to drink. But although the poet stresses the absence of wine for a libation, he never hints that it was a hardship or a thing unusual for the men to fall back on water as their only drink. The common statement that in the story of the epic water was never drunk except when mixed with wine has nothing to support it.

Did the Homeric heroes drink wine unmixed with water? The evidence is very slight and, as far as the *Iliad* is concerned, rests on the use of the word *crater* (mixing-bowl) and the occasional use of the word "mix" in the preparation of wine; but though the gods are described as drawing their nectar from the mixing-bowl (A 598), yet they must have taken their nectar undiluted. When the Greeks and the Trojans prepared the wine which they were to pour out in confirmation of their oath, it is said that they "mixed the wine in the mixing-bowl," but later (Δ 159) Agamemnon refers to this very act as having been ratified by the "libations of pure and unmixed wine." This proves that "mixing-bowl" simply means a bowl for wine and that "mix" means only to draw or prepare. Hector's mother (Z 258) offers him wine to drink and

to offer to the gods. There is not a hint that the wine is mixed with water or that he is to drink mixed wine and offer pure wine in sacrifice.

Nestor in preparation of the drink (I 171) orders that water be brought to pour on the hands, but he makes no reference that it should be added to the wine. Hecamede (Λ 638f) prepared a potion for Nestor and his guests, and in it she put wine, grated cheese, and meal, but evidently no water. When Achilles (I 202) ordered Patroclus to mix a stronger wine, the poet leaves it uncertain whether he refers to a stronger wine or to less water.

I can find no passage in the *Iliad* and but two in the *Odyssey* which compel the assumption that in the epic age wine and water were sometimes mixed; they are the verses which describe the wine given to the Cyclops as being so strong that it should be mixed with twenty parts of water (ι 209), and α 110, where it is definitely said that a drink was prepared by pouring into the mixing-bowl both wine and water.

The simple interpretation of all the passages in Homer which refer to drink seems to show that the heroes drank water, drank wine, and drank wine mixed with water.

Just as Homer has nothing to put along with the words of David or with the ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ of Pindar, so he has nothing to compare with the Anacreontic

ὅταν πῶς τὸν οἶνον  
εὐδουσιν αἱ μέρμυαι,

for he is quite as sparing in his praise of wine as he is of water. Excepting only Odysseus, no Homeric hero seems more than mildly interested in drinks or viands. Homer has no praise for cooks and hardly more than a simple adjective for food or drink; he is no epicure, and he passes over the matter of food so lightly that we really have no inkling of the dishes served at a great feast. At the wedding festival held in honor of the marriage of both the son and the daughter of Menelaus there might have been served nothing but cheese, meat, a little fruit, some bread, and some wine, if they had only that which the poet mentions.

In all that concerns eating and drinking Homer keeps the same epic aloofness and reserve which he maintains when he passes in silence all of the humble but necessary functions of the human body. The whole subject of food and drink in Homer is not one of *Realien* and dietetics but of aesthetics and of epic dignity. Here again the same tone pervades both poems.

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### ANCIENT READING<sup>1</sup>

There are a few passages that touch the question of silent reading among the ancient Romans that were not mentioned by Professor Hendrickson in his article in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxv (1929), 182-96. In his summary Hendrickson says (p. 193): "Silent reading was unusual, but in what degree exceptional or possible the evidence as yet collected does not permit us to say."

Pliny the Elder was very jealous of his time. He made much use of *lectores*. Did he never save time by silent reading? The fact that no specific remark to this effect is made by the Younger Pliny in *Epistulae* III, 5 might be taken to imply either that such economy was so common that no such remark was called for or so uncommon as not even to have been resorted to by one so jealous of his time as the Elder Pliny. Who can say which?

Perhaps an implication that silent reading was familiar to the Romans of the first century A.D. is given in Pliny, *Epistulae* v, 5, 5. We have here the report of a dream supposed to have been experienced by a Gaius Fannius. I know nothing about this incident except what Pliny tells. He says that Fannius was engaged in the writing of a history of the men who had been put to death or exiled by Nero. He had finished three books of the work and hoped to carry it farther when death took him. But some time before his death he dreamed:

<sup>1</sup> Belogh, whose article on this subject was cited by Hendrickson, later wrote a supplementary note entitled "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Lauten Lesens" in *Philologus* LXXXV (1929), 111f, which should be cited here for bibliographical completeness. — R. C. F.

*Mox imaginatus est venisse Neronem, in toro resedissee, prompsisse primum librum quem de sceleribus eius ediderat eumque ad extremum revolvisse, idem in secundo ac tertio fecisse, tunc abisse.*

"He dreamed that Nero came, sat on the couch, took up the first book, which treated of his criminal acts, read it through, so also of the second and third, and then went away." Of course dreams are fantastic and so cannot be used as evidence of anything except with the utmost caution. However, we do not have dreams that are utterly at variance with waking experience.<sup>2</sup> Now it can hardly be supposed that Pliny or Fannius or any Roman was familiar with the reading at one sitting of *three libri* aloud or even with any sort of articulation! It therefore seems to me that we have here at least an implication that eye-reading, reading at a glance, was rather familiar.

Much more important is a passage from the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero (v, 116). Cicero is discussing deafness and is seeking some compensation for it. This he finds in reading. After pointing out that the deaf are relieved of the necessity of hearing grating and inharmonious sounds, he says:

*Et si cantus eos forte delectant, primum cogitare debent, ante quam hi sint inventi, multos beate vixisse sapientes, deinde multo maiorem percipi posse legendis his quam audiendis voluptatem. Tum, ut paulo ante caecos ad aurium traducebamus voluptatem, sic licet surdos ad oculorum.*

"And if songs chance to give them [the deaf] pleasure, they ought in the first place to remember that before such things were discovered, many wise men lived happily; and secondly, that a *far greater* pleasure can be had from *reading* them [*cantus*] than from *hearing* them. Moreover, as we were just now commending the pleasure of the ears to the blind, so now we commend that of the eyes to the deaf." I have hesitated a good while over the word *cantus* in this passage. Taken in connection with the words that precede it, it is used in contrast to *stridor serrae*, *grunnitus suis*, and *fremitus maris*. It therefore seems to include all harmonious

<sup>2</sup> A doubtful statement. In general, as it seems to me, the author tries to wring too much evidence out of the passages cited. — R. C. F.

sounds, or both prose and poetry; but I have kept the conventional word "songs" in my rendering.

Who are the "deaf"? Those born deaf or those who have become deaf? I presume that Cicero is speaking of those who have become deaf. Probably deaf mutes never learned to read in antiquity, though I do not know of any evidence on this question. If the persons here referred to had once been able to hear and had learned to read by articulation only, it may be supposed that they would continue, after becoming deaf, to read with some sort of articulation. However, it seems that Cicero would remark upon the deprivation of pleasure in that the deaf man could not enjoy, at least to the same degree, the effects of articulation if he conceived articulation as essential to reading. But the most remarkable part of the statement is this, that a much *greater* pleasure can be had from *reading* than from *hearing*. Does this mean that reading for oneself with one's own eyes with or without articulation, whether audible or not, is more pleasurable than to hear a *lector* read? Then why such extensive use of *lectores* as we find among the Romans? I submit that, while it is far from explicit, it is implicit that Cicero is thinking about eye-reading.

Finally, I should like to raise a question about Saint Ambrose and his silent reading as reported in Augustine's *Confessions*, VI, 3, 4f. I refer in particular to the words (VI, 3, 5): *Sic eum legentem vidimus tacite et aliter numquam*. I just wonder if the words *et aliter numquam* do not have more weight than one might at first suppose. Might not the surprise on the part of Augustine be due to the fact that Ambrose was *always* found reading silently?

W. P. CLARK

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## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Iowa City. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editors-in-chief reserve the right of appointing reviewers.]

FLORENCE WATERMAN, *Studies and Tests on Vergil's Aeneid*:  
Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (1930). Pp.  
xiii+122. \$1.

This Bulletin in Education, published by the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University, contains (1) "Studies for Class Use" (pp. 3-49) and (2) "Tests on the *Aeneid*" (pp. 63-117). The class studies are of two types. Completion exercises in isolated hexameters taken from *Aeneid* I, II, III, and VI arranged in the order of their occurrence in the poem offer, in each instance, five words from which the student is to select one that fits both meter and thought. Not only are the individual words carefully selected with the purpose either "to shed light on the idea of the omitted word or to assist the student in learning vocabulary, meter, and form" (p. xi), but the combined groups also cover quite thoroughly the fourth-year words included in the list published by the College Entrance Board.

A second group of exercises for immediate use consists of questions on thought and content phrased in simple Latin. Here again five answers are presented from which a correct selection is to be made. The hundred questions of this type for each of Books I, III, and VI will undoubtedly be welcomed by teachers who are repeatedly finding students who can translate a given passage with fluency and yet are unable to give satisfactory answers to questions on its content. The author states in her Introduction that these two sets of exercises "are intended for the most part as a guide to a way of study by which a true and satisfactory familiarity with the poem may be reached rather than merely as

a means of checking the achievement of the class" (pp. ix f). One can well believe that their consistent use would give effective training in the art of reading.

With the daily exercises there have been included (pp. 50-62) the fourth-year word list of the College Entrance Examination Board, and also an alphabetical list of all words used in the completion exercises. It will be found that the latter covers quite comprehensively the entire vocabulary of high-school Latin.

Part II offers two tests each for *Aeneid* I, III, and VI, with a suggested grading scale. The questions are the sort for which the daily studies make gradual preparation. There are hexameters to be completed. Latin questions on content with answers to be underscored, proper nouns to be identified with explanatory phrases in simple Latin, and the hemistichs of lines divided at their main caesuras to be matched. Completion questions on connected passages which require the filling in of proper nouns supplied in an appended list are alternated with those offering no suggestions whatever. For location tests two maps are given, but these are too small to be really useful.

Teachers would welcome a statement of the percentages which students have made on the tests, even though their main purpose is not to test achievement. One regrets, too, that in so practical a study no hexameter completion exercises are given for Books IV and V, and that Books II, IV, and V lack both tests and questions on content. Perhaps the author intends the monograph to be a guide to a way of teaching as well as to a way of study, and is merely suggesting lines along which the individual teacher may work out his own problems.

FLORENCE BRUBAKER

OAK PARK AND RIVER FOREST TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL  
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HOWARD H. SCULLARD, *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*: Cambridge, University Press (1930). Pp. xv + 331. 12s. 6d.

"The importance of Scipio's Spanish campaign has not always been adequately emphasized in recent literature or its difficulties

discussed." This remark in his Preface (p. xi) gives one of the main reasons, and a very good one, for Mr. Scullard's book. More than a third of it is devoted to the Spanish campaign; and except for the circumstance that nearly thirty pages (70-99) are devoted to the ebb-tide which proved so useful to Scipio at New Carthage, this emphasis seems justified. Naturally the greater part of the book deals with strategy and tactics, but there is a useful introductory chapter on the ancient authorities for the Second Punic War. For military affairs Scullard prefers Polybius (pp. 4f), but as a character witness he distrusts him, feeling that Polybius did injustice to Scipio in his attempt to bring out the rational side of his hero and to suppress the mystical side (pp. 18f). Of the type of study described in Germany as *Quellenforschung* or *Quellenkritik*, the author says somewhat severely, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (p. 1). His own analysis of the authorities is thoughtful, readable, and full. I do not, however, understand precisely what he means by the word "material" in his remark (p. 6) that "Polybius' sources were of three kinds, literary, oral, and material." He does not further allude to this third category, although he takes up the others at some length.

The account of the war in Africa is detailed and shows thorough study both of the sources and of the views of later historians; where these latter conflict, the discussion is clear and judicious. Here, as earlier, good plans accompany the text. The site of the battle of Zama is located nearly enough; a full discussion of the exact location is wisely relegated to an Appendix (pp. 310-17). Wisely, too, Scullard calls this battle by its usual name, tersely observing that "to dub it Naraggara is only to exchange one uncertainty for another" (p. 2).

The final chapter, though relatively short, is perhaps the most important, since it is entitled "Scipio, the Soldier, the Man, and his Work." The author can hardly be blamed for rebelling against Mommsen's churlish verdict that "as an officer Scipio rendered at least no greater service to his country than Marcellus" (quoted and challenged on p. 263). A blemish in this chapter is a two-

page parallel (278-80) between Scipio and Lord Curzon. The eulogy of Curzon appears to be dragged in, and the resemblance between the two does not become impressive even when Scullard reminds us (p. 278) that "Lord Curzon was not averse to historical parallels" and that Curzon himself once drew one "between Germanicus and General Gordon." (Both begin with G, certainly!) The rest of the chapter is more happily worked out, and the reader is persuasively led to the conclusion that "Scipio stands in the center of the history of Republican Rome" (p. 286).

It is unfortunate that the style is not always up to the substance. Confused sentences like the one quoted at the head of this review occur not infrequently: e.g. "Most follow the Livian tradition, which although in its championship of Scipio and Rome is 'sans peur,' yet is not entirely 'sans reproche'" (p. 31); "But if at times Polybius errs, which is only human, it is not wittingly" (p. 5); "His greatness was acknowledged by the conferment on him by his troops or by the people, of the title of the land he had conquered — Africanus" (p. 261).

BEN C. CLOUGH

BROWN UNIVERSITY

SIR ARTHUR EVANS, *The Shaft Graves and Bee-Hive Tombs of Mycenae and Their Interrelation*: London, Macmillan and Company (1929). Pp. xi+93. 15s.

That this work is to be "reproduced as a Supplementary Section at the end of Volume III of the 'Palace' book" (p. a3) may surprise one who has merely read the title, but even a cursory glance over the pages will show that Crete and the Minoans are foremost in the author's mind.<sup>1</sup> Mycenae is another site of the great Minoan civilization, its art and wealth further evidence of the greatness of Knossos. One could imagine such a book

<sup>1</sup> But Volume III of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1930) has now appeared without this incorporation. On p. 193, n. 3, however, Evans refers to this monograph "to be reproduced at the end of this work." Does this mean that there is to be an added fascicle to Volume III or that it is to be included in the "concluding Volume (IV) of this work" (Palace III, p. x)?

emanating from the "War Office" at ancient Knossos, so dangerous is its pro-Minoan, anti-Helladic propaganda for the annexation of the mainland. Sir Arthur assumes that Minoan princes were ruling at Mycenae from the XVIIth century B.C. on. Hence his derivation from Crete of most of Mycenae's art may seem reasonable. But if one does not believe in a Minoan conquest of any mainland town? Then the parallels and similarities may be explained by trade intercourse, and no conquest is postulated. It seems to the reviewer that the author fails to distinguish between the natural diffusion of designs and styles, symbols and religion, and the imposition of a foreign civilization by conquest.

Instead of the view of Wace and some others that the Shaft Graves and the Bee-hive Tombs represent an earlier and later dynasty respectively, Sir Arthur revives the old theory that "the two sets of monuments in fact represented the remains of one and the same dynasty, the contents of the bee-hive tombs having been transferred to the grave pits as a measure of security in view of some external danger" (p. 2); "the great bee-hive structures [may have] continued to be in use for memorial rites" (p. 22). An attempt is made to prove that these Bee-hive Tombs were contemporaneous with the Shaft Graves (dated by the pottery as between Middle Minoan IIIa to Late Minoan Ib, i.e. ca. 1700-1450 B.C.). The use of wooden coffins is supposed to be indicated by certain details in the gold masks and ornaments and by less direct evidence. The Minoan Chieftain in Grave VI, however, is allowed to be buried without a coffin.

From a study of the finds, the author concludes that "except for a fair amount of native Middle Helladic pottery," notably in Grave VI (the earliest), "and a Cycladic and even Trans-Aegean element in some of the female ornaments, the relics contained in the Shaft Graves were of an overwhelmingly Minoan character" (p. 66). The pottery, the gold, silver, and bronze vases, and the jewelry owe their shapes and decoration for the most part to Crete, and the bronze weapons (ably treated, pp. 32-41) represent Minoan types. However, the reviewer fails to be convinced as to the Minoan parentage of the famous inlaid daggers, and

the mustache and beard on the gold face-masks are rather summarily dismissed with a brief implication of their Minoan character. The Trans-Aegean and North East influences receive better treatment. The Grave Stelae, executed by Minoan goldsmiths at Mycenae, and originally placed in the bee-hive tombs, were transferred with the remains to the Grave Circle (*ca.* 1450 B.C.).

Evans disagrees with Wace's dating (after 1400 B.C.) of the "Atreus" and "Clytemnestra" Tombs and makes the startling statement that these, which are structurally most advanced, are probably the earliest and are dated in Middle Minoan III. Their decorative reliefs, carved slabs, and stone vases show Minoan affinities and prove that these great tholoi were built in Middle Minoan III and so were contemporary with the Shaft Graves. In conclusion, the author recapitulates the evidence of "an enduring and, in many respects, an exclusive connexion" between Knossos and Mycenae.

The typography and illustrations are excellent. The following corrections should be made: interchange "North" and "South" (p. 17, last paragraph); read "257" for "251" (p. 46, n. 3); "XXV" for "XXVI" (p. 54, n. 2); "357" for "387" (p. 76, n. 4); "Pryce" for "Price," "1806" for "1906," and the Greek name should conform with that given in *The Palace*, Vol. III, p. 193, n. 3 (p. 77, n. 2); and read "76" for "75" (pp. 78, n. 1 and 80, n. 1), and "75" for "74" (p. 78, n. 2). A word is omitted on p. 60, line 3.

Because of lack of space, only a few controversial points may be mentioned. Minoan influence here seems overemphasized and misinterpreted. The case for the early dating of the "Atreus" Tomb and that for the wooden coffins are not as strong as the cumulative evidence makes them appear. However, the book is valuable for the wealth of comparative material, which no one better than the famed Cretan archaeologist could present. It throws light on the interchange of artistic and religious ideas in Aegean lands, and also shows how the mainland civilization was influenced — *not* dominated — by the Minoans. But for the his-

tory of the Shaft Graves and the Bee-hive Tombs one had better "stay at home in Mycenae" and read Wace in *British School Annual* xxv, and Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenae*: Munich, F. Bruckmann (1930).

J. PENROSE HARLAND

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ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *My Recollections*,  
Translated by G. C. Richards: London, Chatto and Windus  
(1930). Pp. viii + 412. 16s, 6d.

Wilamowitz has been for two full generations the leading classical scholar of Germany, himself a pupil of the great scholars of the early seventies, a valued helper of the famous Mommsen, then his son-in-law; a professor at twenty-seven at the University of Greifswald, which he made distinguished; a few years later called to Goettingen, where he won such renown that he was almost drafted by imperial authorities for the University at Berlin. In this position he became the associate of royalty and almost the official representative of every achievement of higher education.

His published works are of a range and a volume to baffle the imagination, running up to several hundred and covering papyri, epigraphy, palaeography, metrics, chronology, linguistics, and the whole range of ancient history, literature, and antiquities. In spite of this astounding productivity he set on foot or carried on various learned organizations, made almost countless addresses, and took the labor to prepare memorials for many of the famous scholars who had been his friends. He was editor of numerous works in which he assisted other authors, read and revised their manuscripts, and unselfishly gave credit to others for work he himself had suggested and helped to create. Enormous as is the list of his publications, the work he has done which does not appear in that list seems as vast and important as his own literary output.

In this book he makes comments in praise or censure on nearly all the outstanding classical scholars of Germany. He swings a

big club, but he does not impress me as cruel or vain. He is quite as severe on himself as on others, and no man was ever more remote from the sense of infallibility than he.

He says once of himself (p. 382): "That I did so . . . was careless and absurd." He speaks of his own failures with no apologies and adds (p. 353): "The recognition of the follies one is never too old to commit helps one on: when one has become satisfied with oneself, one should have given up long before."

It is this constant admission of errors that disarms criticism, and I am sure that no one can read this book without admiration and affection for the author. It is one of the most stimulating productions I have ever read.

JOHN A. SCOTT

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CATHARINE SAUNDERS, *Vergil's Primitive Italy*: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp viii+226. \$3.

The author's purpose in this book is "to test the accuracy of Vergil's picture of primitive Italy by the results of archaeological exploration and by the testimony of ancient literature" (p. vii). A considerable amount of research in both fields is brought to bear upon the subject. The method of treatment is scholarly and scientific. The authorities cited are representative; the notes are numerous and ample. For these reasons it is better suited for teachers than for high-school students.

The first chapter (pp. 1-52) discusses "The Greeks in Vergil's Primitive Italy." There is much interesting material regarding a number of ancient cities such as Cumae, Ardea, Agylla (Caere), etc. The author states that "we can no longer dismiss as mere childish nonsense the many traditions of settlements in Italy by Trojan War refugees, whether Greek or Dardanian" (p. 4). The next six chapters deal with "The City of Latinus" (pp. 53-63), "The Catalogue of *Aeneid* x" (pp. 64-86), "The Volscians" (pp. 87-96), "Human Sacrifice" (pp. 97-120), "Cremation and Inhumation" (pp. 121-28), and "Warfare and Arms"

(pp. 129-93). The final chapter, "The Relation of *Aeneid* III to the Rest of the Poem" (pp. 194-209), admittedly does not belong to the subject, but was added for its "practical value for students of the *Aeneid*."

From the evidence adduced by the author we must agree that Vergil generally "made good use of his antiquarian knowledge" (p. 162), and that "he was remarkably consistent in recognizing differences in primitive burial customs" (p. 127). But in spite of the fact that "The Roman poet has succeeded remarkably well in keeping the atmosphere of primitive times" (p. 134), the author admits that there are anachronisms. For example: "The presence and power of the Etruscans in Italy at the end of the Trojan War . . . must be counted one of the great anachronisms of the *Aeneid*" (p. 93). Again, for chain-mail armor "there is no evidence in primitive Italy" (p. 183).

Perhaps it would have been well had the author defined what is meant by "primitive Italy." Because of the fact that much of the archaeological evidence in this book ranges from the fourth to the ninth century B.C., the reader must be careful in following the discussion, lest he think that this evidence holds true also for the twelfth century B.C., viz. the time of Aeneas' arrival in Italy. Thus on p. 146 the unwary reader might be led astray regarding references to the iron spear-point; the author says: "This is what we should expect, judging from the contents of Italic and Etruscan tombs in general." From an independent study of metal weapons in the *Aeneid* (1928) the present writer believes that iron is an anachronism for Italy in 1184 B.C. The author again avoids the question of date when she says "the iron arrow-point . . . seems to be somewhat rare in prehistoric burials" (p. 156).

There is a three-page list of abbreviations which partly supplies the lack of a complete bibliography. An Index of fourteen pages adds greatly to the value of the book. Typographical errors are few. The language is ordinarily plain and direct. In general, this book will help considerably to heighten one's estimation of Vergil's antiquarian knowledge and build up a more

intelligible background for the setting of the *Aeneid* in primitive Italy.

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ATCHISON, KANS.

EDWARD SCHMITZ

ARTHUR S. HUNT AND JOHN JOHNSON, *Two Theocritus Papyri*:  
London, Egypt Exploration Society (1930). Pp. viii + 92.

At the end of the year A.D. 130 Hadrian made a state visit to Egypt. In the course of his travels along the Nile he had the misfortune to lose his notable and notorious favorite, Antinous, by drowning. To commemorate this event Hadrian founded the city of Antinoopolis, the modern Sheikh. Abada, near the boundary line between Minia and Assiut provinces on the sandy plain which stretches eastward of the Nile to the high cliff-wall, marking the desert's farthest reach. Here on the seventeenth of December, 1913, workers in charge of John de M. Johnson, printer to the University of Oxford, began to unearth from a most unpromising rubbish heap the scattered remains of a small Byzantine library. There were scraps of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and, truly important, a large lump of Theocritus. These last remains, emerging from an ash-pocket in the interstices of layers of shreds in so brittle a state that they could hardly be touched before the moisture treatment was applied, have now been published, together with *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 2064, in the present volume.

*P. Oxy.* 2064 (14 by 9.9 cm., late second century A.D.), to consider the manuscripts in their order as presented, is written in an elegant, though heavy, oval script and contains mutilated fragments of *Idylls* I and III-VIII, along with numerous cursive annotations in which more than one hand may be discerned. The text is in general eclectic, showing no particular affinity with any one mediaeval manuscript. Regarding dialect, *Mousa* is regularly written for *Moisa* and *zeta* in place of *sigma-delta*. The annotations differ rather widely from the existing ones published by Wendel and Ahrens. All in all, the twenty-seven columns of the roll which the editors have reconstructed with the frequent aid of

Wilamowitz' Oxford edition of the *Bucolici Graeci* (except where this departs from the MSS) are far from giving us a new Theocritus. They do, however, carry back our knowledge of the text much farther than any of the existing manuscripts, no important one of which is older than the thirteenth century.

Much more significant and much more extensive, though later in date, is the Antinoe papyrus (maximum height 28.4 cm., late fifth or early sixth century A.D.). This has sixteen leaves making up three sections designated by the editors as A, B, and C. The text is written with brown ink in a sloping hand of a type found also in *P. Oxy.* 1369-71, Ryl. 6, lapsing now and then into cursive. The fading of the light ink and specially the bad state of the papyrus itself make deciphering difficult. Nevertheless certain interesting facts are brought out by the fragments of *Idylls* I, II, V, VII, X, XII-XV, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXIV, XXVI, and XXVIII-[XXXI], which it contains.

First of all, the lacuna which the Juntine edition and that of Callierges (followed by Ahrens and others) expressly assert at the close of XXIV, the poem concerning Heracles and the serpents, is definitely established. At least thirty lines seem to have followed, describing the apotheosis of Heracles and his marriage with Hebe.

Further, a new Theocritus fragment comes to light, very weak and wan but still a new fragment, which the editors designate as [XXXI]. All that we can certainly say is that it seems to make a fourth in the group of Aeolic poems and that it contained a nautical allusion. Possibly we need not too much mourn the loss; what remains in full of XXIX and XXX is sufficiently nauseating. The existence of this new fragment does, however, raise the fascinating hope that more of the first flight Theocritus may soon be found.

Lastly, a good many new readings are exhibited by this papyrus. Some of them confirm widely accepted conjectures or restorations. For example, authority is lent to Ahrens' tentative conjecture οὐδ' αἴτις for the manuscript οὐδ' ἄν τις in XVIII, 25; Toup's καταδήσομαι (restored from Σ) instead of the manuscript

καταθύσομαι is confirmed in II, 3, 10, 159, and probably also Hermann's brilliant emendation ἃ δὲ σμάμα for the manuscript ἃ δ' ἐς νῆμα in xv, 30, though in the same line ἀπληστε is exhibited as against E. Schwartz' λαιστροί. The corrections and emendations of J. M. Edmonds,<sup>1</sup> numbering more than one hundred, are not confirmed.

Like *P. Oxy.* 2064 the Antinoe papyrus manifests distinct neutrality between the various MSS and even in xxiv confirms a reading of Vaticanus 1311 (x), which Wilamowitz (*Textgeschichte der Griechischen Bukoliker*, p. 98) has declared might as well disappear from our apparatus. The scholia are on the whole rather inept, though interesting because evidently not from the same source as the already extant annotations.

Accurate indices to the additions to the text of Theocritus and to the scholia complete the fragments and critical commentary and with two sumptuous plates round off an important volume, which deserves a much more extended and detailed review than is here possible.

F. A. SPENCER

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C. T. SELTMAN, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Third Volume of Plates: Cambridge, University Press (1930). Pp. xiii+199. 12s. 6d.

The first two volumes of this commendable adjunct of the *Cambridge Ancient History* were reviewed in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, xxv (1929), 146. The present volume of plates corresponds to the sixth and seventh volumes of the text, being therefore "concerned with that greatly extended horizon of which men became aware through the conquests of Alexander and the westward expansion of Rome" (p. v). As a consequence the objects represented range from Britain to India and from Spain to Central Asia, though the Mediterranean still holds the center of interest. Italian and Roman art receives scant attention here for

<sup>1</sup> *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1912).

the reason that it is reserved for treatment in the next volume of plates. As in the previous volumes, the illustrations on the right-hand page are conveniently confronted with a descriptive text on the left-hand page. The figures seem to be more clear than in the earlier volumes.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

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GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, a Survey: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp. xii + 87, with 66 plates. \$10.

Miss Richter's book deals in an interesting way with a fascinating subject not elsewhere systematically treated. It does not aim to give an exhaustive account of animals in Greek sculpture, but it presents rather a survey from the point of view of the artistic merit of the representations. In Part I of the text the chief animals depicted in Greek art are discussed in brief methodical order, in each instance with a chronological series of the best examples. The sections on lions and horses are the longest, since these were the favorite subjects in this field. The course of development of Greek sculpture as it is known from the rendering of the human figure is strikingly illustrated in the representation of these animals. The stylization of the archaic period, a stylization founded on nature and with a keen decorative sense, gives way to the monumental grandeur of the fifth century, which is in turn followed by realism and a loss of the sense of design in the fourth century and later.

Miss Richter writes with refreshing enthusiasm and yet with restraint, and her keen delight in the beauty of Greek art is most infectious.

Part II of the text offers a brief description of the illustrations, with measurements, museographical information, and references to publications.

The illustrations themselves, 236 in number, assembled on 66 plates bound together at the end of the volume, are admirably chosen and beautifully reproduced. To animal lovers and to

students of Greek art this collection will be a revelation and a source of much pleasure. Many of the illustrations are taken from coins and gems, not easily accessible to general readers.

A volume so attractive as this deserves a wide distribution, and one can only regret that its high price will keep it from many who would delight in its possession.

CARL W. BLEGEN

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

J. W. MACKAIL, *The Aeneid*, Edited with Introduction and Commentary: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1930). Pp. lxxxviii+532. \$7.

Mr. Mackail's edition of the *Aeneid* "is designed not so much for professional scholars and students . . . as for readers and lovers of great poetry." The masses of scaffolding provided by scholarly investigation are discarded that the work of art may be revealed without encumbrances. Even the influence of Homer, pursued in detail, "is useless except as an exercise." Heinze's work is mentioned as instructive and illuminating, but there are no traces in the edition of any extensive use of the scholarly work of Heinze or of any other German. Apparently Mackail believes that the historical and the aesthetic cannot be combined any more successfully than oil and water. With this contention, as the author's personal opinion, we have no occasion to quarrel; and we anticipate an aesthetic commentary from one "whose scholarship is combined with delicate artistic sense and with some faculty of imaginative divination" (p. xxxviii).

This anticipation is fully satisfied in the major part of the Introduction. The historical and literary background is skillfully sketched. The individual works are nobly and sympathetically estimated in an English style that immediately mollifies any disagreement on the reader's part with unimportant details. The appreciation of the *Eclogues* (p. xxviii) and of the *Georgics* (pp. xxix f) could not be improved. And Heinze might well envy the English stylist the happy simile in which he compactly describes the organic unity of the *Aeneid* (p. xliii):

One may compare the structure which Virgil planned and executed to a basilica, approached through a triple-bayed narthex (Books I, III, V), with two splendid and adorned flanking halls (Books II and IV), and a great central dome (Book VI). These among them fill an equivalent space to the basilica itself, and are wrought with it into a single architectural composition.

Yet Mackail is quite mistaken if he believes (p. xlv) that all modern critics in referring to the first six books as an *Odyssey* and the last six as an *Iliad* intend to deny thereby the architectural unity and symmetry of the whole composition.

In his further appreciation of the epic and its hero one regrets the absolute exclusion of the historical point of view. Must one withhold from a lover of poetry the fact that Aeneas' desertion of Dido needed no apology and palliative in the poet's own generation, and leave the modern reader with the impression of an artistic and moral weakness in the poet's character? And what is the evidence that Aeneas' "entanglement at Carthage brings him no pleasure while it lasts"? Nor is Mackail at all familiar with the purpose of modern criticism when he implies that it endeavors to extract from the sixth book of the *Aeneid* "a coherent body of scientific and theological doctrine"; on the contrary, modern criticism admits that the sixth book contains an absolutely incoherent body of doctrine, and simply points out that this logical confusion is pre-Vergilian; and even if modern critics suggest that such confusion existed in contemporary Stoicism, they are not intending to deny that Vergil is a poet and not a philosopher. Aesthetic criticism is quite legitimate, but it should not misrepresent the historical point of view. The Introduction concludes with a brief and admirable summary of the four elements of art in Vergil's epic: the composition, the ornament, the rhythm and phrasing, the diction; and Mackail's sensitiveness to poetry as an art is especially apparent both here and in his earlier discussion of the incomplete verses of the poem.

So far our anticipations are gratified. But into the midst of this aesthetic Introduction are thrust several pages on the manuscripts, to be sure with some sensible comments on the virtues of correct punctuation and paragraphing. And when we turn to

the commentary, expecting further light on the details from an aesthetic point of view, we are greeted with notes of the conventional sort: brief consideration of textual difficulties, comment on archaic forms, on the meanings of words, on divergences from normal usage, on historical and archaeological detail; and the brief introductory notes to individual books summarily handle a few critical problems; nor are the four appendices essentially different in content and purpose. If the lover of poetry needs such commentary, it is hardly full enough to satisfy him; and the critical student often finds details to question. We naturally expect at least some illuminating literary parallels in a commentary addressed to a lover of poetry, but they are conspicuously few and casual.

In brief, the editor has not the courage of his convictions. Even those who are committed to the historical point of view would have welcomed an aesthetic commentary to match the brilliant pages of the Introduction. As it is, the Oxford Press has celebrated the Bimillennium with a handsome and expensive book.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Ex Luce Lucellum

Mr. A. Shewan of St. Andrews, Scotland, whose articles dealing with Homer have appeared in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL and other American publications, comments interestingly upon the use of *Ex Luce Lucellum* in the British Parliament in reference to a proposed contract with the Swedish Match Company, as mentioned in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for January, 1931 (p. 324):

You may be right about a recent reference in Parliament to *Ex luce lucellum*, but I should like to point out that it originated as long ago as 1871 or 1872. I was in London at the time and remember the facts. Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, introduced as Chancellor of the Exchequer a tax on matches. It was to be paid by a stamp on every box, and the stamp was to bear the above motto. Lowe was an excellent classical scholar. The proposal was unfavourably received and had to be withdrawn. I remember that workers in the match industry marched to Westminster to protest. Lowe was not popular, and the wits soon made his tax their target. For example,

*Ex luce lucellum.* Your motto we know,  
But if Lucy won't sell 'em, what then, Mr. Lowe?

A longer one was:

The Chancellor Lowe thought a tax on a match  
With a neat Latin motto might pass for a joke;  
He made a mistake—when he came to the scratch,  
His law and his lucifers ended in smoke.

This again was condensed into a Latin epigram:

*Lucifer aggrediens ex luce haurire lucellum  
Incidit in tenebras; lex nova fumus erat.*

And, finally, someone suggested that the tax should be on photographs instead of matches, and the motto altered to *Ex sole solatium*.

#### A "Map" of Pencil Golf, Concluded

For the benefit of beginners in Latin the following answers are published for the Pencil Golf Course printed in the last issue of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL (pp. 645f.):

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Navigabamus</i> | 10. <i>Monstravi</i> |
| 2. <i>Socius</i>      | 11. <i>Insula</i>    |
| 3. <i>Sacer</i>       | 12. <i>Agricola</i>  |
| 4. <i>Risi</i>        | 13. <i>Ager</i>      |
| 5. <i>Incolae</i>     | 14. <i>Regionem</i>  |
| 6. <i>Estis</i>       | 15. <i>Mundum</i>    |
| 7. <i>Servo</i>       | 16. <i>Magnus</i>    |
| 8. <i>Occupabat</i>   | 17. <i>Suus</i>      |
| 9. <i>Tenebam</i>     | 18. <i>Sumus</i>     |

#### Word Ancestry

Consider the villain in the melodrama. You would not trust him for a minute. He looks capable of any evil deed. And now consider the villager. We think of him as a peaceful, home-loving person, who follows his lawful pursuits in his small community. Who would think that the words describing these two characters have a common ancestry?

The wealthy men of ancient Rome had villas, just as have our wealthy men of today — fine country or suburban homes with every luxury that the times afforded. Besides the large dwelling, there would be other and smaller buildings appertaining to it. There would be many slaves to serve the master. It would be a small community. In later Latin *villa* came to mean "village," probably because the home of the wealthy man would become surrounded by the humbler dwellings of his dependents. "Village" comes to us from the French, and is said to have been derived (or perhaps corrupted) from the Latin *villaticus*, meaning "pertaining to a villa."

With us a villager is simply one who lives in a village, but in early English history the village had a certain legal status, as did its inhabitants, who were divided into classes. One of the lower classes was the villain (or villein), from the late Latin *villanus*, a dweller in a village. It often happens that a word implying social inferiority comes to be used in an opprobrious sense. This happened to "villain." Meaning simply a villager of the humbler class, it took the meanings "boor," "clown," "knave," "rascal," and so on down the toboggan, until its original meaning was lost.

There are numerous parallels to this degradation of a word's meaning. "Churl" originally meant "a person without rank, a common person." Now it is used to describe a surly, ill-bred, boorish person. The original meaning of the Greek word *idiotes* was much like that of "churl" — a person in private station, not an officeholder. Then it described a common person, a plebeian; then an ill-informed, ignorant person — all this in Greek. Finally our English word "idiot" completed its degradation.

WILLIS A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILL.

#### Random Notes on Words, Continued

##### SOME WORDS FOR SPACE RELATIONS

In English conversation there is constant call for the adverbs and prepositions connected with space relations. The novice who tries to put into Latin a few lines of ordinary English small talk is in constant trouble to express these little words in Latin.

For "up" and "down," "forward" and "backward," "to the right" and "to the left," the dictionary gives us *sursum* and *deorsum*, *prorsum* and *retrosum*, *in dextram* and *in sinistram*, awkward sounding words for the most part that speakers and writers of Latin made slight use of. These words in English occur usually with verbs, and are commonly expressed in Latin by prefixes combined with verbs. "To look up," "to leap up" are *suspicio*, *subsilio*, the idea of *sub-* in composition with a verb

of motion being "from below," hence "up." Similarly most English "down's" appear as *de-* combined with a verb in Latin. Even *sursum* and *deorsum* are syncopated forms for *sub-versum* and *de-versum*, "turned up," "turned down." So *prorsum* and *retrosum* are from *pro-versum* and *retro-versum*, and the "-ward" in English "forward" and "backward" is the etymological equivalent of the Latin *vert-*. *Manum* must originally have been required in the phrases *in dextram* and *in sinistram* (or *laevam*). "Forward" and "backward" or "rearward" are commonly expressed by compounds of *pro-* and *re-*<sup>1</sup> or *retro-*.

"Toward" and "away from," when there are no further implications, are expressed by *ad-* and *ab-* in composition. When the motion "toward" is thought of as ending "inside of" something, *in-* replaces *ad-* in such compounds. *In-* is also especially likely to be used when hostile intent is implied in the movement. *De-* replaces *ab-* when the motion is not only "away from" but also "down from"; and *ex-* is appropriate when the motion is "out of."

Students should list the following sets of correlatives in their notebooks, defining each word by a phrase containing the English word "place": *hic, huc, hinc*; *istic, istuc, istinc*; *illic, illuc, illinc*; *ibi, eo, inde*; *ubi, quo, unde*. I have often been surprised to find how many students do not know the meaning of the English words "hither" and "hence," "thither" and "thence," "whither" and "whence," which no longer find their way into the working vocabulary of uneducated Americans, perhaps because Bible reading has become less common now. It usually requires definite instruction to get pupils to see that "here" has different meanings, (and therefore requires different Latin words to express it) in such combinations as "came here," "sat here," and "left here." It will also require repeated question or comment to get pupils to realize at once upon sight of the word that *hic* refers to the speaker's position, *istic* to the place of the person spoken to, *illic* to a place different from that of either the speaker or the person

<sup>1</sup> Additional notes on some compounds of *re-* are given in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIV (1928), 231f.

spoken to. If the place referred to by *illic* is at some distance from both the speaker and the person spoken to, some such word as "yonder" gives its meaning in English. *Ibi* is regularly used to pick up, repeat, or refer to a place that has just been mentioned in the context.

"Above" and "below" as adverbs are *supra* and *subter*, as prepositions *super* and *sub*. These prepositions are, of course, used with the accusative to point out the end of motion and with the ablative to point out merely the location of something. The meaning "to the base of" in such phrases as *sub montem*, *sub muros* is familiar.

*Super* won over *de* in a contest as to which should be used in the sense of "concerning" in such expressions as *ea de re disputabatur*. *Super* in this sense is not infrequent in preclassical literary and colloquial Latin, was banished from literary Latin for a time in the classical period of Cicero and Caesar, was taken up again by the poets, who were followed by the historians, and later became regular in the Christian writers and the Vulgate. It seems to have been common at all periods in colloquial Latin. The English word "over," which corresponds to Latin *super* in meaning, is used in this sense but has been largely replaced by "concerning," whose development as a preposition with this meaning is rather interesting.<sup>2</sup> English has also developed the use of "about" in the same meaning, but no similar use of *circum* or *circa* is found in Latin, while the use of *de*, "down from," in Latin finds no parallel in English. "Of," which is the etymological equivalent of Latin *ab*, is, however, used in this sense in English.

S. E. STOUT

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#### Classics in the Preparatory School When America Was Very Young

Browsing in a secondhand book shop not long ago I came upon a copy of the *Dialogues of Lucian*, edited by Edward Murphy, M. A., and published in Philadelphia at the Classic Press, for the proprietors William Pyntel & Co., 1804. Turning to the

<sup>2</sup> See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "concerning."

Preface, I was interested in what Mr. Murphy had to say concerning classical studies in the preparatory schools of America in that year, part of which I quote below:

If any single and singular father or son, or, rather, both together, should accidentally read these sentiments, and very accidentally join in them, let them, if the youth aspires to be a useful and a shining man, further join in the following resolution. . . . That such a youth quit not [preparatory] school, till he is as perfect as a very good master can make him, in every single word of the following books, viz. Caesar's Commentaries, Quintus Curtius, Sallust's Wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, the five first books of Livy, the select orations of Cicero, all Vergil, except his juvenile works, Horace and Juvenal (except the improper parts). Persius, the four first plays of Terence, St. John's Gospel, Leusd. Compend., these Dialogues of Lucian, the four first books of Xenophon's Cyropaedia, Epictetus and Cebetis Tabula. The eight first books of Homer's Iliad, Hesiod, the Idyls of Theocritus, Hero and Leand., and Oedip. of Sophocles.

He who will not, before he enters the University, read the above, or an equal quantity of Greek and Latin, and that, every word most accurately and perfectly, nay, till each author, being but thought of, seems to chime in his head, and his very manner of thought, and expression to occur to him most strongly and distinctly, from that of every other author he has read; he, I say, who will not thus read this, or at least very nearly this quantity of the best Greek and Latin authors, shall not, if he hath but middling parts, go through a college course, with any tolerable credit or improvement, but shall end it (as is generally the case) nearly as ignorant, or very probably, more so, than when he began: And, if he hath even strong and bright parts, it will cost him infinite toil to obtain the knowledge and name of a scholar. But, the above authors being read, as is here proposed, a youth of but ordinary abilities shall be able to gain a great stock of learning, and *even to pass for a bright man*: and, he, on whom God hath bestowed extraordinary talents, shall proceed in his studies with unspeakable delight, and prodigious improvement. He shall become of his parents and friends the pride and joy; of his teacher the boast and honour; of arts and learning the pillar; of dulness, ignorance, and obscurity the shame; of his country the happiness, the ornament, and the glory.

I pass this on to the JOURNAL without further comment (indeed, Mr. Murphy has left very little to be said), thinking that it might be of interest to some of its readers — especially to those teachers who wonder how they can cover six books of the *Aeneid*

adequately and at the same time prepare their students for Cp. 4 of the College Entrance Board Examinations.

In mentioning some of the evils in the method of education in his day, Dominie Murphy deplores "an immoderate use of literal translations," which, so he avers, was the "prevailing usage" and was tending "to the extirpation of letters." Another evil was "the neglect of making youth get the best and most charming of their school authors by heart"—an evil, it strikes me, which we of the present day might well consider. I refer not to Latin versions of "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" but to gems from the *Pro Archia* and the *Aeneid*. After all, a schoolboy who has been through four years of Latin ought to be as familiar with certain lines from Cicero and Vergil as he is with Hamlet's Soliloquy or the Gettysburg Address.

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#### Contract Plan in Latin<sup>1</sup>

The plan consists of three parts: (1) translation; (2) supplementary readings in Roman civilization; and (3) grammatical and derivative work.

I. The entire class period, one hour in length, is turned into a laboratory period, i.e. there is no recitation, each student being given the entire period for study, consultation with the teacher, and individual help with difficulties.

Each student sets his own pace. No translation is required to be done outside of class if the student is satisfied with the amount he can do during the class hour.

Once a week each student is given a quiz covering part or all of what he has translated during the week. These tests are made over a certain unit of work, from 50 to 150 lines; the student takes the test when he is ready for it; usually three duplicates are made at the same time; and as a rule not more than three students

<sup>1</sup> This Hint needs to be used in the light of the suggestions in the February issue of the JOURNAL (pp. 364-66). — R. C. F.

are ready at once for the same test. Three grades are given for the week's work: on amount translated, story (i.e. content of translation), and construction. For a "C" grade a student must translate from 20 to 22 lines per day and make "A" on the story and "A" on the constructions in the quiz. In other words, whatever amount he contracts to do he must do well. If a student is attempting to translate more than he can master, he is advised to take less.

II. Each Monday a written report is due on one or two chapters from some book on Roman civilization. This does not require more than an hour outside. It is not necessary that all these papers be graded, as the student's knowledge is tested in the term examination.

III. Grammatical exercises or derivative cards are due each Monday. For the derivative work the student must find anywhere in his reading ten English words, not already a part of his working vocabulary, and give the Latin root and the place where found; on the reverse side of the card he must write an illustrative English sentence for each word.

This plan may appear to involve a great deal of work for the teacher, but actually it does not. Six to ten questions generally cover a unit of work, and five to eight forms cover construction. The papers are quickly corrected and grades recorded. The students have responded enthusiastically; there are no problems of discipline. Each student knows exactly what he is doing, as does the teacher; each receives help when he needs it. Students translate with comprehension and retention as their goal as well as "so many lines." The regular and frequent check-up keeps students from copying, as is very often the case in other contract systems. The plan also provides time and opportunity for the necessary and important correlated work, which is practically impossible under the recitation system if one is to cover a required amount of translation also.

ALVIA SACKNITZ

LONGVIEW, WASH.

## Magma

[Edited by Royce Regincklif of Nulliusinterest University.]

The funeral games in honor of Patroclus as described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad* consist of eight contests: the chariot race (vss. 257-652), the boxing match (653-99), wrestling (700-39), the foot-race (740-97), a tournament with spears (798-825), throwing the iron weight (826-49), archery (850-83), and throwing the spear (884-97), in which the prize is conceded to Agamemnon without a contest. Of these the first four and the last are attested as authentic by vss. 621f and 634-38, and doubtless constituted the pentathlon of heroic athletics. The other three events, therefore, are sometimes charged with being later additions to the poem, and of course critics have not been so lacking in ingenuity as not to be able to find arguments, linguistic and otherwise, in substantiation of such a theory.

I have no desire to debate that question here, but content myself with pointing out that the number of verses devoted to each contest (406, 47, 40, 58, 28, 24, 34, and 14) form, with only two small exceptions, a descending series. It is as if the poet felt a diminishing ardor for his task and sensed in his auditors an increasing loss of interest in his prolongation of the account. The description of the last event is the briefest of all, and diversity of treatment was secured by letting this prize be awarded by default.

A similar situation occurs also in Book xviii, where 132 verses (478-609) are employed to describe the new shield, with its inlaid designs, which Thetis has induced Hephaestus to make for her son. The breastplate, helmet, and greaves, however, are dismissed in four verses (610-13); and nothing is said about designs upon them, although the ancients were accustomed to ornament these articles of armor as well as shields. Both the poet and his hearers, as it seems to me, had had enough of this sort of thing, and the former wisely brought his book to a rapid conclusion.

Still again in Vergil I find a recurrence of the same situation.

We are all familiar with the famous words in *Aeneid* vi, 126-29:

*Facilis descensus Averno . . .  
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,  
hoc opus, hic labor est.*

However, the descent, with its attendant incidents and descriptions, occupies 625 verses (268-892), whereas the ascent (893-899) is contained in seven! Vergil had already exhausted his imagination in providing terrors for the downward course; and an attempt to duplicate or surpass this description, even if reasonably successful in itself, would have wearied the patience of his readers with an anticlimax.

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Apropos of the recent editorials in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL with reference to whether the bimillenaries of Vergil and Horace should be celebrated in 1930 and 1935 or in 1931 and 1936, a former student makes a neat point. The Romans, who regularly included both terminals in an enumeration, would have favored 1930 and 1935 respectively, and there is an obvious propriety in celebrating these anniversaries at dates which Vergil and Horace would have approved. As stated editorially, that answer is given also by the psychology of the problem — it *seems* right whether mathematically correct or not.

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Some one has said that if tact were for sale the only ones to buy it would be those who already have it. I have been much impressed by the tact of Menelaus and Antilochus, the son of Pylia Nestor, in *Iliad* xxiii.

In the chariot race the latter knew that his horses were inferior to the others', and his father warned him (vss. 313-48) that he must win by skill and maneuvering. As they approached a narrow place in the course, Antilochus with the brashness of youth feeling sure that he could intimidate his older and more cautious rival pulled alongside of Menelaus, who, sure enough, allowed himself to be passed in order to avoid a collision. As a result Antilochus came in second and Menelaus third, though

close behind. Menelaus might have taken things into his own hands or used far stronger language than he did. He contented himself, however, with a moderate statement of the case and demanded merely that Antilochus take an oath by Poseidon that he had not deliberately fouled him.

Nestor's son was too honorable to commit perjury and was in a difficult situation. What he did, however, was a marvel of tactfulness and succeeded where defiance would have failed. He said (vss. 587-95) :

Bear with me now, for I am much younger than you, Lord Menelaus, and you are older and stronger. You are aware what sort of transgressions a young man indulges in, for his intelligence is quick but his judgment is shallow. Therefore let your heart endure. And of my own accord I will give you the mare *which I won* — even if you should demand some other and greater thing from my home, I would prefer to give it to you without ado rather than to fall from your good graces for the rest of my days and offend the gods [by a false oath].

At the same time he turned over his prize to Menelaus, whose anger was completely dissolved and who insisted that Antilochus should keep the prize after all:

Antilochus, of my own volition will I yield to you in spite of my anger, since you have not hitherto been erratic or flighty. Now again youth prevails over wisdom, but avoid outwitting your betters a second time. Perhaps no other Achaean could have won me over; but since you have suffered and toiled greatly, as also your brave father and brother, in my behalf, I shall give heed to your prayer and give you the mare, *though it is mine*, so that even these may know that my heart is neither arrogant nor harsh. [Vss. 602-11]

Notice how easy Antilochus made it for Menelaus to forgive him, and how tactfully Menelaus maintained his own dignity in the moment of yielding to an offending youngster. At the same time the italicized words show that neither one of them surrendered what he considered his rights.

Antilochus was equally successful (vss. 539-56) in maintaining his rights as against Eumelus, who had been in the lead but suffered an accident; and he was still more effective (vss. 785-96) in receiving the last prize in the footrace, when his "apple

sauce" caused Achilles to double the award. But these passages are too long to cite here.

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In the April JOURNAL (p. 564) I referred to the translation "howlers" of which our British colleagues are so fond. An unusually good example was cited in the *Classical Review* XL (1926), 178. In *Odes* III, 16, 17f Horace pointed out how increasing wealth brings no contentment but only added trouble and the hunger for greater riches:

*Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam  
maiorumque fames.*

An English schoolboy is said to have translated this last phrase as "hunger for ancestors"! The longing for a genealogical tree is so characteristic of the *nouveau riche* that it almost seems as if it ought to be included in what Horace had in mind. In fact, these "howlers" are often too delightfully neat to be the haphazard product of ignorance.

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When Menelaus and his chosen three seized Proteus, who was supposed to be omniscient, and forced him to give them the desired information, the old man querulously exclaimed (*Odyssey* IV, 462f): "What god, son of Atreus, advised you so that you might take me in ambush against my will?" One would suppose that anyone with such a command of other people's affairs might have been informed of what his own daughter had been up to, and thus have been able to avoid the trap. At a recent dinner in honor of an eminent astronomer a speaker, stressing the discrepancy between the exact knowledge of physical science (which is often exaggerated, by the way) and the vagueness which obtains in some other fields, said: "This scholar can predict the exact position of every star in the heavens one hundred years from now or at any other time anyone may designate; and yet, if he has a daughter, he probably cannot tell where she will be at two o'clock tomorrow morning!"

## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Cedar Rapids, Iowa

The Coe College Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi entertained the University of Iowa Chapter at dinner at the Montrose Hotel on March 18, 1931. It is thought that this is perhaps the first time that this sort of thing has happened in Eta Sigma Phi history. The program was furnished by George W. Bryant, Carla Sgarlata, and Marion Swartzell, representing the hosts, and by Alpha Braunwarth, Roy C. Flickinger, and Elaine Smith representing the visitors.

### Classical Association of New England

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England was held on March 27-28, 1931, at Northampton, Mass., where the Association was delightfully entertained by Smith College. The members were welcomed by Dean Marjorie H. Nicolson of Smith. In replying to her greeting the president of the Association, Professor Ben C. Clough of Brown University, took the opportunity to extend the best wishes of the Association to Miss Julia H. Caverno, one of the charter members, who retires from active teaching this June after many years of devoted service in the classical department of Smith College. The secretary-treasurer, Professor M. N. Wetmore, reported virtually no change in membership of the Association during the year.

The following officers were elected: president, Miss Mary Randall Stark, Girls' Latin School, Boston, Mass.; vice-president, Harry M.

Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; secretary-treasurer, Monroe N. Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.; Executive Committee (for two years), Miss Mary Elizabeth Bartlett, High School, Manchester, N. H., and Thomas Means, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.; and representative on the Council of the American Classical League, Walter V. McDuffee, Central High School, Springfield, Mass. The Association unanimously accepted the cordial invitation of the College of the Holy Cross to hold its next meeting at Worcester, Mass., on April 1-2, 1932. Miss Stark presented the report of a committee appointed to make a survey of classical studies in New England. This report was discussed at some length and accepted.

The following papers were read: "Vergil's Name and Fame" by Le-Roy C. Barret of Trinity College; "Martial and the Roman Crowd" by John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University; "An Experiment in the Teaching of Beginning Greek" by Natalie M. Gifford of Wheaton College; "Proskynesis and Abasement in Aeschylus" by Herbert N. Couch of Brown University; "A Minor Mystery of Mythology" by Helen H. Law of Wellesley College; "Methods of Accounting in the Zenon Papyri" by Elizabeth Grier of Columbia University; "Along the Dalmatian Coast" (illustrated) by George M. Whicher of Amherst; "The Representation of Animals in Ancient Mosaics" (illustrated) by Marion E. Blake of Mount Holyoke College; "The Comic in Terence" by Nicholas Moseley of Harvard University; "Cicero and the Academy" by Nelson G. McCrea of Columbia University; "Oratory in Gaul; Eumenius of Augustodunum" by Mrs. David Gordon Lyon of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; "The Church Fathers and the Student of the Classics" by Arthur Stanley Pease of Amherst College; "Greek Goats in Native Haunts" (illustrated) by Marion L. Ayer of Mount Holyoke College; "The Inductions of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid*" by Samuel E. Bassett of the University of Vermont; and "The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers" by Alice T. Ryder of Stamford High School.

#### **Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Southern Section**

The tenth annual southern meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South was held at the University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., April 23-25, 1931, under the presidency of W. D. Hooper of the University of Georgia. The following papers were read: "Oral Communication as Influence on Greek Literature" by C. E. Boyd of Emory University; "A Ciceronian Rogue's Gallery" by H. M. Poteat of Wake Forest College; "An Arrangement of Greek Verb Forms" by W. H. Bocock of the University of Georgia; "The Third Epigram of the *Catalepton*, Vergilian Appendix" by Nadine Webb Overall of Murray

State Teachers College; "The Sea in the *Aeneid*" by Carmel Discon of Sophie Newcomb College; "Italy and the Poet Vergil" by M. Simpson of Millsaps College; "Vergil, the Traveller, as Related to His Scenery" by Charles E. Little of George Peabody College for Teachers; "Authorship of the *Dirae* and *Lydia*" by R. B. Steele of Vanderbilt University; "Vergil's Place in History and Literature" by A. W. McWhorter of the University of Tennessee; "The Formative Years of Vergil's Poetry" by A. P. Hamilton of Millsaps College; "Scarronides" by R. L. McWhorter of the University of Georgia; "The Influence of Paganism Upon Certain Christian Beliefs and Rites" by Isabel Gulley of Tennessee College; "Greek Fire" by Edwin L. Green of the University of South Carolina; "Socrates *Redivivus*" by Edward K. Turner of Emory University; "Return to the Humanities" by W. D. Hooper of the University of Georgia; "Georgia's Annual Latin Tournament" by Catharine Torrance of Agnes Scott College; "An Estimate of Julius Caesar" by W. N. Thomas of Howard College; "Whither High School Latin" by Ruth Carroll of Hartsville, S. C., High School; "In Defense of Roman Character and Religious Feeling" by J. E. Eubanks of Junior College of Augusta, Ga.; and "Classics in a Summer School Experiment" by J. B. Game of Florida State College for Women.

#### News from Athens<sup>1</sup>

Unusually fine weather during the autumn and winter made the School study-trips through Greece and Attica very pleasant and successful.

Loring Hall, the new residence and dining hall, has now been in use for a year and has proved, as was expected, to be a great boon to members of the School. It will be an especially attractive home in summer for the members of the Summer Session, during the weeks that will be spent in Athens and Attica and in the intervals between the longer trips. It is hoped that a considerable number of students will be enrolled for the Summer Session of this year, of which Louis E. Lord of Oberlin College is to be the Director.

It has been like old times to have Dr. Dörpfeld giving lectures on the Acropolis and Dr. Wilhelm interpreting inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum.

For some weeks in December, January, and February Homer A. Thompson, Agora Fellow, was engaged in exploratory excavations of the Pnyx in collaboration with Mr. Kourouniotis and the Greek Archaeological Society. It is hoped that the results of this investigation will be of

<sup>1</sup> These notes have been kindly contributed by LaRue Van Hook of Barnard College, who has been Annual Professor at the American School in Athens during 1930-31.

great value in helping to solve the problems connected with the Pnyx which have long vexed scholars.

It is gratifying that a fine new Museum at Old Corinth will be built immediately to replace the present inadequate building. The money for this structure, so much needed for the rapidly growing collection of antiquities found in our excavations at Corinth, has been given by Mrs. William H. Moore. Excavation for the foundation of the building, on the site selected, is now in progress, and it is hoped that the building will be ready for use by next spring.

#### Tennessee Philological Association

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at Murfreesboro on March 6-7, 1931, under the presidency of George B. Hussey of Maryville College. The following items on the program were of interest to classical teachers: R. B. Steele of Vanderbilt University, "The Rehabilitation of Nero"; H. J. Bassett of Southwestern, "Mussolini—*Restitutor Urbis*"; Louis F. Snow of the University of Chattanooga, "Appreciation of Literature"; Martha Annette Cason of Ward-Belmont, "*Somnium Scipionis* (with Especial Reference to the Commentary of Macrobius)"; George B. Hussey of Maryville College, "Progress of Philology in America During the Last Quarter Century"; W. C. Campbell of Central High School, Murfreesboro, "The Musical Instruments of Vergil"; Fred L. Santee of Vanderbilt University, "Date of Publication of Horace's *Odes* I-III"; C. E. Little of George Peabody College for Teachers, "A Tour of Vergil's Latium" (illustrated); Nadine Webb Overall of Murray State Teachers College, "*Catalepton* v of the *Vergilian Appendix*"; and Annie C. Whiteside of Webb School, "Vergil's Appeal to Modern Students." Officers for next year were elected as follows: president, Ethel Claire Norton of Tennessee College; vice-president, Louis F. Snow of the University of Chattanooga; and secretary-treasurer, Edwin L. Johnson of Vanderbilt University.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

Compiled by RUSSEL M. GEER, Brown University

- BONNER, CAMPBELL, "The Numerical Value of a Magical Formula," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* xvi (1930), Parts I and II: London, Egypt Exploration Society. Pp. 9.
- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, No. 30: Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" (Janvier 1931). Pp. 83. Fr. 3.
- CAMPBELL, JAMES MARSHALL, AND MCGUIRE, MARTIN R. P., *The Confessions of St. Augustine, Books I-IX* (Selections), with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary: New York, Prentice-Hall (1931). Pp. x+267. \$2.50.
- EDGAR, CAMPBELL COWAN, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XXIV): Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1931). Pp. xiv +211, with 6 plates. \$3.50.
- FARNELL, LEWIS R., *The Works of Pindar*, Translated with Literary and Critical Commentaries: London, Macmillan and Co. (1930). Pp. xiii +384. 18s.
- FIFE, ROBERT HERNDON, *A Summary of Reports on the Modern Foreign Languages*, with an Index to the Reports: New York, Macmillan Co. (1931). Pp. vii+261. \$1.
- GORDON, F. G., *Through Basque to Minoan*, Transliterations and Translations of the Minoan Tablets: New York, Oxford University Press (1931). Pp. 83. \$3.75.
- HAHN, E. ADELAIDE, *Coordination of Non-Coordinate Elements in Vergil*: Geneva, N. Y., W. F. Humphrey (1930). Pp. xiii+264.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XLI: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1930). Pp. 200. \$2.
- Holiday Courses in Europe, 1931*, Compiled by the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Co-operation: Boston, World Peace Foundation (1931). Pp. 52. \$0.50.
- JORDAN-SMITH, PAUL, *Robert Burton's Philosophaster*, with an English Translation, Together with His Other Minor Writings in Prose and Verse: Stanford University Press (1931). Pp. xxi+283.
- Martin Classical Lectures*, Vol. I (1930): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1931). Pp. x+181. \$2.50.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City.

- MOONEY, GEORGE W., *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum, Libri VII-VIII*, with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1930). Pp. 662.
- MUNCEY, R. W., *St. Augustine De Symbolo, Sermo ad Catechumenos* (Texts for Students, No. 46): New York, Macmillan Co. (1931). Pp. 32. \$0.35.
- OVINK, B. J. H., *Philosophische Erklärung der Platonischen Dialoge Meno und Hippias Minor*: Amsterdam, H. J. Paris (1931). Pp. xi + 206.
- POTTER, FRANKLIN H., *General Index to Volumes I-XXV*, the CLASSICAL JOURNAL: Cedar Rapids, Ia., Torch Press (1931). Pp. iii + 266. \$2.50. To be ordered from J. O. Lofberg, Oberlin, O.
- ROUSE, W. H. D., *Ludovicus Vives, Scenes of School and College Life in Latin Dialogues*: New York, Oxford University Press (1931). Pp. 135. \$1.10.
- SHEAR, THEODORE LESLIE, *Corinth*, Vol. V, The Roman Villa: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1930). Folio. Pp. 26, with 11 plates and 7 figures. \$10.
- Vergil's Bimillennium*, a Symposium by the Latin Seminar of Rockhurst College: Kansas City, Rockhurst College (1930). Pp. 24.
- WILD, PAYSON S., *A Fourth Century Poet — Ausonius*: Chicago, privately printed (1930). Pp. 18.
- WOOLLEY, CHARLES L., *Digging up the Past*: London, Ernest Benn (1930). Pp. 144. 6s.
- WORTH, J. G., *Nomen Romanum*, a Book of Augustan Latin: London, Cambridge University Press (1930). Pp. 216. 3s. 6d.
- WRIGHT, F. A., AND SINCLAIR, T. A., *A History of Later Latin Literature*, From the Middle of the Fourth to the End of the Seventeenth Century: New York, Macmillan Co. (1931). Pp. viii + 418. \$4.75.
- WRIGHT, F. WARREN, *Cicero and the Theater* (Smith College Classical Studies, Number 11): Northampton, Mass., Smith College (1931). Pp. xii + 112.
- YOUNG, CHARLES D., *Love Books of Ovid*, Translated: Paterson, N. J., Alexander Hamilton Press (1930). Pp. 301.

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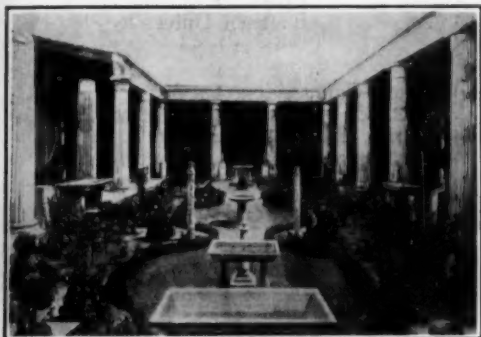
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## The Classical Association of the Middle West and South

is organized for the purpose of encouraging the development of the study of the classics; to provide a means of intercommunication between teachers of the classics, whether in the secondary schools, in the colleges, or in the universities of the territory it covers; and generally to promote a unity of thought and action in the broad field of classical teaching. Membership in the Association is open to all teachers of the classics and to other individuals interested in classical studies who reside in the territory covered by the Association. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year; \$1.25 of this amount covers the member's subscription to the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* at a special rate, the regular subscription price being \$2.50 per year. The value of the *JOURNAL*, which is the official publication of the Association, to those interested in the classics, either as students or as teachers, cannot be measured by the annual outlay. The advantages involved in this offer therefore appeal strongly to those who find themselves in these groups.

Application for membership in the Association should be made to the Vice-President of the state in which the applicant resides (see list on the inside of the back cover) or to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association.

A plan of cooperation has been perfected with the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States. See the inside of the front cover for directions relating to applications for membership.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South will be held with the University of Cincinnati, on March 24-26, 1932.

